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EXTRACTS FROM
REPORT ON ENGLISH AND
VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS

1912

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Extract from the
Report on English & Vernacular Newspaper for the year 1912
6th Jan to 13th July 1912

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REPORT ON ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS, AND ON VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

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No.1 of 1912.

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For the week ending 30th December 1911.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

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The transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi.

6. The Swadesamitran, of the 21st December, writes:--

Our main objection to the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi is the enormous expense it will entail. It is estimated to cost nearly six crores of rupees and where is this amount to come from? The opium revenue, which was yielding between six and seven crores a year, will soon disappear. Realising this, the Government of India is trying to curtail expenditure, wherever possible, and levy some new taxes also. The Anglo-Japanese treaty and the agreement entered into by England with Russia have removed the fear of Russia advancing on India, and so there will be no harm in reducing the strength of the army and saving at least one crore of rupees thereby. But the opposition of the military officers and some members of the Parliament to this measure has made it impossible for the British ministers to move in this direction. We do not think much can be saved by curtailing the civil expenditure of the Government. Moreover the Emperor has now granted 50 lakhs of rupees for the promotion of education and the Government has also promised to spend larger sums for it in the future.

Besides this, it is necessary to improve the sanitatinn of the people; for, the only method of combating with the present high rate of mortality among the people from plague, malaria and other causes is the improvement of sanitation in the country. Considering the healthy condition of the people of the West, the death-rate in India is a stain upon civilisation itself. So, larger grants will have to be made in future to municipalities, district boards and other local institutions in order to help them to improve sanitation in their respective administrative localities. Thus at a time when the revenue is about to be decreased and there is every likelihood of the expenditure being increased, how will it be possible for the Government to spend an additional sum of six crores for the transfer of the capital of India? The only way is for the Government to xxxxxxxx raise a loan. A certain amount of money may be saved by the sale of the buildings now used by the Government in Calcutta and by the reduction of the expenditure on the annual exodus to Simla; but it will be very little indeed. Both Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe must have known this and the Emperor too cannot be ignorant of it. No great change can be effected without much expense and India can never have a surplus of revenue over expenditure. Then again, no other opportunity could have been availed of to change the capital of India than the visit of the King-Emperor, and as the annulment of the partition of Bengal became necessary, the change of the capital had to follow as a sequel. India has not much of debt and so six crores of rupees cannot be deemed to be a heavy debt for it. Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe expect several administrative advantages to accrue from this

change of the capital and therefore, in view of the future benefits, we should not grudge this heavy expenditure.

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7. The Swadesamitran, of the 21st December, observes:-- It is really surprising that the Government of India should be quietly seeing the Statesman and the Englishman of Calcutta indulge in vituperative language about the change of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. We learn that Mr.K.B.Dutt has given notice of a question on this subject in the Bengal Legislative Council and it remains to be seen what action the Government will take in the matter. But it is clear that there are people in England who are opposed to this change of the capital and the House of Lords itself appears to be divided on the subject. Still they have decided to put off a discussion about it until after the King returns to England, and the English papers also echo the same view. Such being the case, why should the English papers in India alone indulge in such language. Perhaps it shows their loyalty! It is to be noted that the Government of India, which has gagged and suppressed the Indian papers, is quitely allowing the English papers to publish such seditious articles.

The English papers on the change of the capital of India.

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VI.-MISCELLANEOUS.

16. The ~~Vysiamitran~~ The Hin[illegible], of the 27th November, publishes the following article from a correspondent:-- The Indians are content with the little they have and

and never make an attempt to improve their condition on the lines adopted by the Westerns. Look at England which has become such a rich country within the short space of three thousand years. Her natural products are only coal and iron and yet, as a result of her enterprising spirit, she has acquired the gold and gems of India, Australia and Africa, by means of trade and enriched herself thereby. Even now our country is being drained of its gold in large quantities. So the Indians should forget their individuality and learn to feel that each is interested in the gain or loss of the whole country. Though Bombay may impoverish Madras in trade, it should be noted that both these provinces are part of India and are under one Government and that, on

The three defects of the Indians.

country is being drained of its gold in large quantities. So the Indians should forget their individuality and learn to feel that each is interested in the gain or loss of the whole country. ~~Though Bombay may impoverish~~ another occasion, Madras may hope to recoup the loss so sustained by means of trade. But if the wealth of the country is taken beyond the sea, there is no chance of its return to this country. Therefore the first defect of the Indians is that they have not realised this. The next point to be considered is the distinction between various sects and sub-sects among us. Is it fair to be thus divided among ourselves at a time when union is so necessary for India? Can we attain the higher world, if caring for religion alone, we are having dissensions among us? By this, I do not mean to suggest that we should give up our religious practices. My only contention is that we should take care that our

religious disputes do not mar our union. As theosophy is a religion every one can adopt, union is a faith which all religionists can follow. So let us forget our religious differences and act upon the faith of union, and we are sure of attaining the goal of self-government under British Raj". The third defect is that we have not had "timely" education. The education at present imparted by the English Government is helpful only in befitting men for service under the Government. Nothing is done to give religious and moral education to the children of Bharata; nor has any attempt have been made to give the people a general education, which is necessary for the purpose of creating a feeling of union and patriotism among them, and industrial education, which is eseential for the material improvement of the country. If this third defect is remedied, the first two defects will disappear of their own accord. Therefore, we should devote our special attention to the education of the children of Bharata. One half of the coronation funds collected in different places should be set apart for this purpose and educational societies formed in different centres, whose duties it should be to utilise this amount in attaining the above object. I can confidently say that we cannot put this money to any better use than this.

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No. 2 of 1912.

For the week ending 6th January 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

The Indian National Congress and its critics.

5. In a leading article under this heading, the Indian Patriot, of the 1st January, writes:--"The congress has had its critics ever since it was started, and more critics when it began to gather increasing strength. Those critics were mostly Anglo-Indians. Since the Surat fiasco the critics are largely Indians themselves who were congressmen once, but who have seceded from its owing to the constitution which was given to it and the rules by which it was to be governed......... The dissatisfaction with the congress is naturally of those who are out of it, and this finds expression in the criticism which we have had of the Calcutta session. It is said that the session was not largely attended, that there was no enthusiasm, that the number of delegates was small, that the congress pandal was not filled to its full accomodation and so forth. We wonder whether an examination has been made of all the previous congresses to see what was the varying attendance at each successive session....... The most largely attended congress was the one at Bombay over which Sir William Wedderburn presided, and that was because, in addition to Sir William's ~~popularity, there was Charles Bradlaugh's~~ ~~Wedderburn presided, and that was because, in addition~~ to Sir William's popularity, there was Charles Bradlaugh's presence Hundreds of people went merely to hear Bradlaugh.

Again the venerable personality of Dadabhai Naoroji drew large numbers to Calcutta. These are exceptions which show that the character and aims of the congress are not the sole determining factors of the attendance at its meetings..........So long as there are two parties, one of the congress and the other out of it, there is bound to be criticism which is not complimentary to the congress........... We have to consider the genesis of the movement which resulted in the eventual split. It was the feeling among a certain number of people that Government could not be persuaded, but should be compelled, to respect the opinion of the people. There were circumstances which created a disbelief in agitation, conducted on old lines, and the partition of Bengal, effected in disregard of the feelings of a whole people, seemed to be the culminating act of provocation which drove many to assume an extreme attitude. But since this attitude was taken, many things have happened to convince them that constitutional agitation conducted by wise and prudent men can achieve all that we want. The Conventionaists had this idea, and they adhered to it, and that idea has been more than justified by the General attitude of the Government, by the recent reforms, and by the momentous announcement made at Delhi..........The Royal boons are far greater than are implied in the administrative and territorial changes, and extend to the root principle of Government Where is, in these circumstances, the necessity or justification for insistence on principles or methods which an extreme party at one time avowed? To our mind there is none; and when the future is fully considered, we have no doubt that those who now differ

from our view will have no reason to persist in their difference. The rules of the congress, so far as they relate to its consitution and procedure, are changeable, and they will be changed, we feel sure, when there is a demand for change on the part of a considerable number of congressmen, instead of mere fault-finding from without."

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7. The Wednesday Review, of the 3rd January, has the following:--

The Indian National Congress.

"Never before did a session of the National Congress meet under happier auspices than at Calcutta last week. The leaders of the movement may well feel elated at the steady, though necessarily slow, fruition of their labours. Constitutional agitation especially under a justice-loving Government like the British, must always triumph, and the Congress has amply vindicated its character as a loyal and constitutional assembly laying, from time to time before the Government, the needs and wishes of the people whom it represents............If the Congress continues its great work on the lines marked out definitely at the Allahabad Convention there will never come a time when it will be regarded as a superflous body with no place in the economy of Indian polity. We are aware that there are even now friends who think it is lagging superflous on the stage and its place has been effectively filled up by the reformed Legislative Councils............They forget that the value of the Congress consists more in its being a great educative political agency than in its being able to induce the

Government now and then to make a few concessions. Its educative value will not suffer because there are now more non-official representatives on the Councils..............~~During~~ Turning to the presidential address of Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, it was, as might be expected from a sober and level-headed publicist like the Pandit, a briliant survey of the political situation of the country, and though opinions may differ on a few points raised by Mr.Dar, the address will be welcomed for its broad outlook and its correct appreciation of the limitations under which political work in India has to proceed............Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar struck no truer note in his address then when he said: We have a Government whose justice is exemplary and a civil service which in ability, integrity, zeal and genuine regard according to its own lights for those entrusted to its care has no rival in the world. I thank God I am a British subject, and feel no hesitation in saying that the Government of India by England - faulty as it is in many respects and greatly as it needs to be reformed and renovated from top to bottom --is still the greatest gift of Providence to my race; for England is the only country that knows how to govern those who cannot govern themselves.

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9. **Indian Moslems and their future policy.** In referring to the recent meeting of Muhammadans in Calcutta to consider the present situation and the letter written by Mr.P.Raza Ali, Secretary, District Muslim League, Muradabad, to the Pioneer, on the unity of action between Muhammadans

and Hindus, the Hindu, of the 6th January, says:-- But recent events in Turkey and in Persia have opened the eyes of Muhammadans. It has become unmistakably plain that British policy cannot in the least be influenced by reference to Indian Mussalman religious susceptibilities. Turkey and Persia must then go, and what, then, ought the attitude of Indian Muhammadans be? That which, according to the Muhammadans, raised them in their own estimation.- the Turkish Empire and the Persian Kingdom--will soon disappear and there is nothing left for Indian Mussalmans but to join the Hindus whom they had neglected to befriend for over three decades. The union of Bengal has doubtless embittered the Muhammadan community, but it shows what the community needs to know, that persistent, constitutional agitation has its own reward. It may be said, Mr.Ali points out, that by joining the Hindus, the Muhammadan community would lose their distinctive individuality. But this is fallacious--the Moslem religion is a proselytising religion and the Parsees, who number one lakh, have kept up their indivudality ever since they landed in India"

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10. The Hindu, of the 6th January, writes:--

The release of political prisoners.

From a telegram which appears elsewhere it appears very probably that Mr.Tilak will be released on the 10th instant. This would be an act of grace and clemency on the part of His Majesty the King-Emperor which would be widely appreciated all over the country. We beg also to commend to the attention of the

Government the desirability of relleasing some of tae political prisoners in this Presidency, among whom are V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, ex-Secretary of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, Subramania Siva and Surendranath Arya. All these persons have undergone a considerable portion of their periods of imprisonment and are deserving of the exercise of Royal mercy in their favour. They were convicted only for seditious speeches delivered, and their offences were not in any way connected with ~~fx~~ physical violence of any short. ....They have been complaints that they have not had proper treatment in jail, which have been ventilated in public. Taking all things into consideration, we venture to think that it would be a gracious act on the part of the Government if these unfortunate men were released from custody during the Royal visit, or soon after Their Majesties' departure from this country, as is said to be contemplated in the case of Mr.Tilak."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.- FOREIGN POLITICS.

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Indians in South Africa.

12. The Sasilekya, of the 2nd January, has a leader on the subject of the Indians in South Africa, in which it states that His Majesty King George V has by his visit to India honoured this country more than the Colonies. This has given his Indian subjects immense delight. His Majesty also granted great boons, which shows that he loves India very warmly. But, says the paper, there is one grievance which His Majesty has still to redress. It is that Indians in South Africa are treated as outcasts. He enjoys all privileges in England, whereas in the English Colinies he is dishonoured. The paper hopes that now that His Majesty has greatly honoured India, the Colonial Governments will come to their senses and cease to worry the British Indian subjects in South Africa. The Government of India having prohibited emigration to Natal, the planters there are annoying the Indians under their control with a vengenance. The Natal Government have imposed a tax of three sovereigns upon each Indian unless he or she entered into an agreement with the planters to serve under them. The paper prays that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to give his best consideration to this matter and use his influence to secure for his Indian subjects in South Africa equal privileges with his South African subjects. If the Colonial authorities do not

consent to this, the paper prays that His Majesty will command that no Colonial subject of his should enter India nor seek therein a market for any of his goods.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

13. The Swadesamitran, of the 25th December, says:--

The Muhammadans and the annulment of the Partition of Bengal.

In an article Published in the Aligarh Institute Gazette, Nawab Mustak Husain, the Secretary of the Aliagarh College Committee, characterises the annulment of the partition as a grave blunder and observes:--

This annulment has caused great dissatisfaction to the Muhammadans. The fact that the partition has now been annulled, in spite of the repeated statements of high officials that it would not be changed, only shows the weakness of the Government. It will be difficult for the people hereafter to have any confidence in the promises and actions of Government. But as this annulment has been announced by His Imperial Majesty directly, it is not desirable to agitate about it. Still, care should be taken to see that the advantages which the Muhammdans derived from the partition are not affected. The dissatisfaction now spreading among the Muhammadans will subside only if the Government announces the steps that are intended to be taken in this direction

before the King-Emperor leaves India." He also protests against some of the educated Mussalmans abandoning the Muslim League and joining the Congress. Though he has not expressly stated the benefits which should be conferred upon the Muhammadans as a set-off for the annulment of the partition, we know he refers to separate privileges in Legislative Councils and local institutions and a greater number of appointments under Government for men of his community. We do not know how this will be a proper set-off for the loss alleged to have been sustained by the Muhammadans by the annulment of the partition. Perhaps the formation of Bengal into a Governorship and the transfer of the capital of India to Delhi, the seat of the old Muhammadan Empire, are not sufficient to recompense any such loss. The Muhammadans aspire for impossible privileges and threaten the Government that they will be dissatisfied if they are not given them. Then, again, we cannot understand the statements of Nawab Mustak Husain that the agitation of the Congress is against the Government and that the agitation of the Muhammadans independently is not against the Government".

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17. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ The Swadesamitran, of the 3rd January, writes:--

The bureaucracy and the future of India.

From the time the British Government was established in India, this country is being ruled by a few British officials. Though the responsibility of the Government of India was transferred to the King

of Great Britain and the Parliament after 1858, as a matter of fact, all the administrative powers remained only in the hands of these officials. These group themselves into a clique, with certain special privileges and are conducting the administration secretly, without attaching any value to public opinion. This system of Government is called bureaucracy. In countries where there is no Parliament, such as Russia and China, it is this bureaucracy that rules the country. The officials constituting the bureaucracy in India are honest and capable men taking a keen interest in their work. Still this bureaucracy does not favour the political advancement of the people. As was pointed out by the President of the last Congress at Calcutta, this bureaucracy opposed the liberal policy of Lord Rippon, while it supported the regime of Lord Elgin, who was an incapable Viceroy, and Lord Curzon, who thought too much of himself. A recent example of the attitude of the bureaucracy is the aversion it exhibits for the good deeds of Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge. But the bureaucracy has lost its strength on account of the reforms of Lord Morley. The regulations made by the Government of India regarding the election of the members of the Legislative Councils are not quite satisfactory and we hope Lord Hardinge will modify them soon. If this is done and the Legislative Councils acquire real power, as was contemplated by Lord Morley, the Power of the bureaucracy will be curtailed still further. With the advance of time, the popular representatives will acquire greater powers through the Legislative Councils. In the despatches which

have passed between Lord Hardinge and Crewe on the subject of the transfer of the capital of India to Delhi, the former has hinted about the system of government which will obtain in India in the future, in the following strain:-- "The reformed Legislative Councils will be enlarged still further and acquire greater powers in the Government; the Provincial Legislative Councils will also get larger powers and the administration will be mostly in their hands; Provincial affairs will be managed by them independently and the Government of India ~~will be managed by them independently and the Government of India~~ will have to interfere only in case they commit mistakes. This means that India will have a Government akin to that of the United States, Canada and Australia. Then the position and power of the bureaucracy will disappear altogether, as has been the case in countries with Parliaments. But it will take some time for all this to be carried out. It is known to every one, including the bureaucracy, that the visit of the King-Emperor to India begins a new era in India. The people themselves have imbibed a new enthusiasm and a spirit of self-reliance. If the Primary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale is passed, and if the educated leaders lead the people in a capable and patriotic manner and exercise their authority under the Government for the benefit of the people, we can well hope to attain swaraj, as above described, within a few years.

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22. The Jaridah-e-Rozgar, of the 24th December in introducing its article on the change of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, observes as follows:--

The change of capital to Delhi. 7

It is the essential duty of the press in general to invite in good faith the attention of the Government, to works of public utility and general welfare. But such of our contemporaries who, for want of forethought and prudence, wilfully neglect their duty, give occasion for the growth of ill-feelingsx between the people and the governing class, and unlawfully stir up ill-natured subjects. The Royal Proclamation anent the change of capital was not viewed with satisfaction by some newspapers; and these papers in commenting on the subject, went to the extreme in saying that, Calcutta had received such a kick that it would fall headlong into the abtss of degradation, and that Calcutta would be reduced to a non-entity and would eventually become a ruined and desolate place where owls make their roost. But men of clear observation solve this question admirably. Calcutta will never lose its commercial importance, and will ever remain a commercial centre. It was on this basis of commerce that the East India Company established its factory there. Delhi is indisputably the best place for the capital of an empire. It had before the privilege and honour of being the capital of India under the Mughal rule. It is also a sacred place with the Hindus. The Partition of Bengal was considered by our popular Sovereign to be unnecessary, and thus Bengal has been placed underthe rule of one Governor, and thereby the

desires of seven crores of Bengalis are fully realised. It is, on the other hand, strange to note that those who profess to be the true well-wishers of the Government and the sincere friends of the country, are not at all satisfied with this important change.

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29. The Swadesamitran, of the 29th December, writes:--

Hindus and Muhammadans.

Some persons are mischievously busy in throwing innumerable obstacles in the way of the Muhammadans working in co-operation with the Hindus for the advancement of the country as a whole. It must be said that there are some Muhammadans who are incapable of understanding what is meant by saying that the Indians should become one nation. Though the Muhammadans have thus been adopting a separatist policy for the last few years, we are glad that some great men among them have now realised that nothing has been gained by it and that it is not advisable to be so hereafter. It is a good sign of the times that there were a larger number of Muhammadan delegates and visitors in the Congress of this year. Let us hope that hereafter at least the Muhammadans will realise their folly and begin to co-operate with the Hindus in labouring for the welfare of the country.

As was pointed out in a previous issue of our paper, Nawab Mustak Hussain asks men of his community not to join the congress. But we are glad that there are other Muhammadans who do not agree with this gentleman. We know that the Indian

Muhammadans are now dissatisfied with England because she has not done anything to prevent the cruel deeds of the Italians in Tripoli and the unjust acts of Russia. But the relation of England with Italy and Russia is based on Imperial policy and it is not wise to expect that Great Britain will change its policy for the sake of satisfying the Indian Muhammadans. The Indians have no voice in the Imperial policy of Great Britain. They can concern themselves only with the policy of Great Britain with reference to India. Regarding this, the majority of the Indians are satisfied that what has been done by the King-Emporer has been done in our best interests, and this fact should not be forgotten by the Muhammadans. Though the annulment of the partition of Bengal has been dissented to by the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, the formation of Bengal into a Governorship and the transfer of the capital of India to Delhi may be welcomed by the Muhammadans in other provinces. Even if this is not the case, why should any objections be raised to the Muhammadans joining the congress? Whatever might have been the view of the Government and the English officials in the past about the Congress, it is certain that they are not against it now and so the Government will not find fault with the Muhammadans if they join the congress. His Highness Aga Khan and other Muhammadan leaders are trying to form the Indians into a nation and how can this object be fulfilled if the advice of Nawab Mustak Hussain be followed? The creation of an Indian nation will be greatly facilitated if the Muhammadans will realise that the Hindus and

the Muhammadans are bound to co-operate as much in the congress as in the Legislative Councils.

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31. ~~XXXX~~ The Andhraprakasika, of the 27th ~~pre~~served and are held in honour.

31. The Andhraprakasika, of the 27th December, has a leader on the recent session of the Indian National Congress, in which it says that it marks a new era in the history of the Congress, taking place at a time when Their Imperial Majesties are travelling in India, and when the Indians, especially the Bengalees, are sporting in the waters of the ocean of delight which the news of the annulment of the partition of Bengal has given them. It is moreover taking place in Calcutta, which is the chief abode of the Bengalees, who were affected by the partition and who now feel highly gratified at its annulment. The paper then refers to the presidential address and states that the opinions ventilated therein, on matters such as the treatment of Indians by Government officials and by Anglo-Indians, and the reforms that ought to be introduced into the Legislative Councils, deserve to be carefully considered both by the rulers and the ruled. One special feature of the congress this time is, the paper says, the fact that Muhammadan leaders attended it in large numbers and sympathised with its aims.

The Indian National Congress.

The Sadhvi, of the 1st January, in the course

of an article giving a few extracts from the President's speech at the last session of the Indian National Congress, observes:--"........

The Indian National congress.

We extract here a few paragraphs from his speech and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions whether he is not the most outspoken of the Presidents the congress over had. He has had the moral courage to call a spade a spade, and India can rise in the scale of nations only when it can have an army of non-official gentlemen who are animated, nay, fired by this blunt strainght-forward spirit--a spirit that invariably characterises an unspoiled and unsophisticated Britisher. When the question of electing the President was being discussed and when different Provinces proposed different men for this honour, we thought that Mr.Bishen Narayan Dar was a gentleman of ordinary attainments, moral courage and statesmanship. We now see that he is one who stands on a footing of equality with any one that preceded him in this post of honour. If the whole of this address is carefully read we cannot fail to see that while he exposes the unstatesmanlike errors of the bureaucracy in India, he is the staunchest advocate of the permanence of the British rule here, and no greater pillar of the British Empire than Mr.Bishen-Narayan Dar can ever be conceived. It is very gratifying to note that there are in India a large number of men who equal and rival him and when time comes they will be as ready as he to emerge from their self-imposed and glorious obscurity. We think that India

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is very rich in such men, and they form an estate and asset of which India canot be too proud. May God bless India and make her an insepeerable partner in the blessings of the British Empire...........

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NO. 3 OF 1912.

For the week ending 13th January 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

2. The Indian Patriot, of the 9th January, observes:--

The transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

"The most serious objection to the change of the capital to Delhi is that the Government of India will be removed from the influence of public opinion. Delhi is without an intellectual population, and has not an independent public opinion to act as a check on the Government of India. This objection has considerable force. But to our mind it has less force now than thirty or forty years ago when public opinion, where it existed, did not operate so powerfully as it does now. The changes that have taken place in respect of communication, movement of people, the facilities of post and telegraph, the free transmission of news and opinions, have largely diminished the drawbacks of distance. The power of public opinion has enormously increased; and the Government of India,

wherever it may be, cannot escape its force. It now remains in Simla for eight months in the year, and only less than four months in Calcutta, and it is not the public opinion of Calcutta alone that beats upon it throughout the year. The Government, when it remains in Simla, cannot be said to be impervious to the influence of public opinion below. The post and the telegraph daily inform it of the state of public opinion on the plains. Still it cannot be denied that actual contact with leaders of thought and opinion will be absent when the Government is situated in a place where such men are not found, and it will take a considerable time before Delhi attains the position of an intellectual centre."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

~~XX IXXXFORXXXXXXPOLXXXXXX.~~

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

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10. The Hindu Nesan, of the 8th January, writes:--

Release of the political prisoners.

We are informed that Mr. Tilak will be released on the 10th instant and that he has been brought to Aurangabad for this purpose. This news will be received with joy by the whole Indian community. This will be a fitting act of clemency on the part of the Government, quite in consonance with the gracious visit of His Majesty the King-Emperor to India to offer an opportunity, to his Indian subjects, of witnessing the grandeur of his Coronation. We venture

to take advantage of this opportunity and commend to the attention of the Government the desirability releasing some other political prisoners also, among whom are V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, who was the Secretary of the Swadeshi steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin, Subramania Siva and Surendranath Arya. These have ~~undergone~~ undergone the major portion of their periods of imprisonment. They were convicted only for having delivered seditious speeches and not for using physical violence of any sort. It is said that Subramania Siva is suffering from leprosy, and complaints have also been made that Chidambaram Pillai and Surendranath Arya are not being properly treated in jail. Considering everything, we think that it will be a gracious act on the part of the Government to release these unfortunate men from custody as a mark of the Royal visit either before or after the departure of Their Majesties from India.

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15. The Alhami, of the 24th December, in commenting on the transfer of the seat of Government from Calcutta to Delhi observes that this change has created great elation amongst the Rajputs and Punjabi princes, and in particular amongst the Mussalmans; the people of Behar also have expressed sentiments of pleasure at this change, for they presume that Patna will consequently become head-quarters. The announcement of the reforms includes the annulment of the partition of Bengal, about which there has been such a hue and cry amongst the Hindus. They have got

The transfer of the seat of Government.

their desires realized now. Some Hindu newspapers are not yet satisfied at these changes, and they fully resent the change of capital.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

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16. Mr.Tilak. The Desamata, of the 27th December, states that many in this country were eagerly expecting that His Imperial Majesty who has been pleased to annul the partition of Bengal and thus delight the hearts of the Bengalees, will also extend his mercy to Mr.Tilak and release him, but it is at a loss to know why that has not been done. When it was announced in the papers that a certain prisoner at Mandalay was released, the people hoped it was Mr.Tilak. But it turned out otherwise. Although he has not yet been released, the paper, believing as it does in the kind heart of the King-Emperor, concludes the article with the hope that His Majesty will take into his consideration the present peaceful state of the country and set Mr.Tilak at liberty.

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17. The Indian National Congress.

The Desamata, of the 3rd January, states in its leading columns that the Indian National Congress this time held its sittings in Calcutta at a time when the Bengalees were eagerly expecting to welcome Their Imperial Majesties King George V and Queen Mary. Just a few days before the greatest of the Emperorrs on earth had held the Delhi Darbar with great splendour, at which the people were overjoyed. The organisers of the congress this time were all the more enthusiastic inasmuch as the King-Emperor has sympathetically responded to their past constitutional agitation against the partition of Bengal by ordering its annulment. Their belief in the British sense of justice has gainsed strength, and it gave them new encouragement and new hopes. Such being the circumstances under which the Congress met, it had enjoyed, says the paper, a prominence unknown to it before, and conducted its proceedings with the firm belief that its constitution commands the respect and sympathy of those who guide the destinies of the British Indian Empire.

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20. **The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair and the Hindu University Scheme.**

Referring to Mrs. Annie Besant's letter to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair on the Hindu University scheme and Mr. Sankaran Nair's reply thereto denouncing the same, the Vokkaligara Patrika, of the 3rd January, observes:--

Although we are unable to share his opinion on the scheme that a Hindu University might tend to promote sedition in the country or create disunion among the people, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Sankaran Nair had no selfish motives in expressing his antipathy towards the movement, and we very much regret that this singular attitude of his made him a victim to much bitter criticism from the Hindu public. Mr. Sankaran Nair's misapprehensions regarding the scheme arise from his ignorance of the root principles of the Hindu religion. As a staunch advocate of social reform he has certain prejudices which render him incapable of reading the trend of religious thought in the country and consequently he is unable to foresee the ultimate result of the rapid changes that are now taking place in the direction of religious reform. We have no doubt that he will ere long come to hold a friendly attitude towards this movement.

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NO. 4 OF 1912.

For the week ending 20th January 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

~~I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.~~

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

4. The following appears in the West Coast Spectator, of the 17th January:--

Mr.G.H.B.Jackson, I.C.S., and the salaam case. 6

"Some are born great, greatness seek some, and some have greatness thrust upon them. Mr. G.H.B.Jackson, I.C.S., Sub-Collector, Chingleput, belongs to the last category. The other day a young boy of seven summers salaamed him. Mr.Jackson got angry, at once arrested the child, drew up proceedings against him and inflicted a fine of Rs.5, in spite of the entreaties of the father of the child, a respectable merchant and Municipal Councillor. After the proceedings, Mr.Jackson read a lecture to the father on the propriety of teaching his children good manners. The whole incident is ridiculous from top to bottom. First of all the accused is only a child, and children are children all over the world. Secondly, Indian children salaam, generally, all respectable persons and Europeans especially, of course out of respect, and nobody thinks of taking children seriously. Thirdly, Mr.Jackson stood in the psotion of the complainant and he was not fit to try the case himself...........The Indian press has already taken up the subject and is commenting upon it. His Excellency the Governor would do well to send for the records in the case and instruct the Advocate-General to more the High Court to quash the

the proceedings, besides applying a corrective to Mr. Jackson, who, by the way, was for some time in Calicut as Assistant Collectoor."

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26. XxxII.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.
THE VERNACULAR PAPERS.

(k) General.

26. x Behar. The Kistnapatrika, of the 22nd December (received on the 16th January 1912) says that a certain English paper has pronounced the present political reforms in Bengal as equal to the conferring of self-government on the country. No doubt it is so, says the paper. In the British Isles, Ireland, Scotland and Wales are endeavouring to obtain self-government. It is no wonder, says the paper, that as people grow more and more civilized, they desirex self-government. The Beharees have long been demanding separate Government. They never liked that outsiders should occupy high posts in their country. His Majesty has now done equal justice to Bengal and Behar. The partition was annulled and a Lieutenant-Governorship in Council was created for the Beharees. In Behar there is only one Arts College, and that is not what it ought to be. Sufficient interest is not evinced in the matter of sanitation. The Beharees do not enjoy their proper share of the high offices of Government. Under such circumstances, there is no doubt, says the paper, that the Beharees will feel gratified at the benefit that has been conferred on them as a result of the re-union of the two Bengals.

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Suggesting that a Mussalman should be appointed to the vacant seat in the Local Executive Council.

30. The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 10th January, referring to the vacancy caused in the Local Executive Council by the death of the Hon'ble Mr.Krishnaswami Aiyar, says that, as two Hindu have previously been appointed to the post, it is now the turn of a Mussalman, just as in the case of the Supreme Executive Council, after Mr.Sinha, the Hon'ble Mr.Saiyid Ali Imam was appointed. It hopes that His Excellency Lord Carmichael will act on the policy of Lord Minto and will place the Muhammadan community under a deep debt of gratitude.

In this connection, it mentions the names of the Hon'ble Mr.Justice Abdur Rahim, the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad Sahib, Khan Bahadur Azziz-ud-din Hussain Sahib and Maulavi Ahmad Husain Sahib, M.A., B.L., C.S.I., of Hyderabad.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

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43. The Indian National Congress.

The Kistnapatrika, of the 29th December (received on the 16th January 1912) says that one of the many advantages which India has derived from the British rule is the possibility of an annual session of the Indian National Congress. It met with many reverses, and the days when it was looked upon with suspicion came to a close, and a new era has begun in its history now that its aid is being felt more and more keenly by Government in the administration of the country. To-day it received the blessings of His Majesty the King-Emperor and his Secretary and bids fair to benefit the country in many ways especially as the Government now sympathise with it. The paper says that the Anglo-Indians have strongly criticised the reforms of Lord Morley, the decisions of the Judges of the Calcutta High Court and the annulment of the paritition of Bengal. They also raised an outcry as if this change in the policy of Government will end in some great catastrophe. It is they that had the Press Act passed merely because in some corner of this great Indian Continent, certain young men had violated the laws of the land. The paper opines that there can be no greater writers of sedition than the Anglo-Indian editors. The President of the Congress had described the nature of their writings when he said that if he were a seditionist, he need not write one word to spread his propaganda, but that it would do to give wider publicity to the contents of Anglo-Indian organs. But they are not brought to

book, says the paper, even though they speak ill of the Emperor, who is very pure. Why? Because, says the paper, the Anglo-Indian organs are united, wield great power and are influential, whereas the native papers are divided and do not work in harmony.

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The release of political offenders.

49. The Sadhvi, of the 16th January, in an other article urging the release of political offenders in memory of the Imperial Darbar, says that it is a Christian virtue to love one's enemies and after seeing such numerous evidences of His Majesty's solicitude for the happiness and welfare of his Indian subjects, it is only natural to expect that His Majesty will order the release of all political offenders now in jail as a royal mark of clemency.

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No. 5 of 1912.

For the week ending 27th January 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

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(b) Courts.

The Chingleput "Salaam" case.

2. In commenting on the judgment of Mr.Jackson, I.C.S., in the "Chingleput 'Salaam" case" the Hindu, of the 26th January, says:--We have already expressed our belief that Mr. Jackson has shown an incredible ignorance of law and want

of commonsense in the manner in which he has dealt with the whole case in which a child of seven years was the object of his wrath. It is to be remembered that the ~~east~~ act of Mr.Jackson was not one done on the impulse of the moment, without having had sufficient time for deliberation and calm judgment. The so-called occurrence took place on the 23rd ultimo, and the case was heard 11 days after, on the 3rd instant. We do not desire to say anything at length on the merits of the case which we feel sure has already attracted the attention of the Government........Seen in the light of all the facts and circumstances of this case, it is difficult to say that Mr.Jackson is a man of ordinary sense and temper."

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8. The Madras standard, of the 24th January, writes:--

The future policy of Muhammadans.

"In a letter to the Pioneer, Mr. Mirza Saniullah Beg of Lucknow, reviewing the present situation, sketches the policy which, he believes, must be adopted by the Muhammadans of this country.............The Muhammadan political institutions he says, serve as protective bodies only and have no fixed goal, without which he believes they might cease to exist at any time. The goal that he, therefore, suggests is self-government within the British Empire, and he believes that this policy will bring them in unison with the Hindus in political aspirations and may lead to the solution of the Hindu-Muhammadan question

to a certain extent. He believes that this goal will not destroy the existence of the Muhammadans as a community and asserts that, unless the Muhammadans learn that the religious beliefs of one Indian should never be allowed to interfere with the rights and duties of another, they will never succeed in getting self-government............He also believes that the goal he has formulated does not mean disloyalty to the British Throne, because the self-interest of India will ever necessitate its permanent attachment to ~~England~~ England, and he desires the Muslim League to adopt the policy of the Indian National Congress and, with due regard to the interests of Muhammadans, to serve as its feeder, rather than its drainer. This is sound commonsense and men like Mr.Beg are the real benefactors of their community. Men of the type of the Nawab of Dacca will continue to press their unwholesome policy. But the revulsion of feelings now noticeable will, we hope, bring in an ~~xxxx~~ era of peace and harmony."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION

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Vagaries of certain officers.

14. The Andhraprakasika, of the 20th January, while expressing its surprise at the conduct of the Joint Magistrate of Chingleput in convicting and punishing a young boy for having cried "Salaam", and of the Acting superintendent of Police of the same district in reducing a head constable

from the National Congress. When the so-called patriots found out that the partition of Bengal had been annulled, and that they had no other subject to take up, they came forward and accused the Mussalmans of agitation. It is an undisputed fact that the poisonous essence of agitation is an ingredient in the blood of our Hindu Brethren. In support of the above statement several instances of bomb outrages and murders of European officers may be cited. Though our Hindu brethren may do their best to poison the ears of Government against Mussalmans, Government will never grow suspicious of Mussalmans. Mussalmans are endowed with the instincts of resignation and well-wishing. It is a part of their creed to be loyal to their Sovereign. The attempts of the Hindus to cause ill-feeling between the Mussalmans and the British authorities are a tangible proof of their feelings towards Mussalmans. It is a well-known fact that the annulment of the partition has been a cause of grave anxiety, for which the Mussalmans, the better to urge their claims, have held meetings. If the representation of grievances in a humble and mild tone is regarded as "agitation", then perhaps the publication of seditious articles and the convention of seditious meetings may be styled loyalty and patriotism? If even at this stage our Hindu brethren do not change the attitude of their policy and forego their wiles and stratagems, they will become no longer deserving of any further royal privileges.

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29. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 13th January, in an article on congress and sedition, writes that those societies that are devoid of foresight are asking why it is that this year, the question relating to sedition has not been touched on seeing that there was no longer any sedition even before the introduction of the Seditious Meetings Bill, in the Imperial Legislative Council. There is now therefore no necessity to retain a severe law. This wonderful line of argument proves that the critics are short-sighted. Had they taken the assassination of Mr.Ashe into consideration they would not have deceived Government and the peace-loving people of India. India is now keeping itself aloof from such sedition. But it should be noted that the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act do not unjustly interfere in any legal proceedings, and that their existence does not entail any loss on any ~~loss on~~ any peaceloving subjects of Britain. These enactments indeed are not acceptable to those who are but evil-wishers of Government and the National Congress. Granted that there is now no sedition in India; the fact does not necessitate the throwing away of the weapon with seditious mongers have been humbled.

Seditious Meetings Act.

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NO. 6 OF 1912.

For the week ending 3rd February 1912.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The Salaam case.

7. Referring to the Chingleput Salaam case in which Mr. Jackson was the complainant, prosecutor and judge in one, the Desamata, of the 24th January, remarks as follows:--

Are we to suppose that Mr. Jackson is ignorant of law? Or, does he think that his will is law? Who gave him authority to try the accused himself and fine him, and, when his temper had calmed down, to set aside the conviction? Does he not know that the British administer the country according to certain laws and that they will never let any wronger being done in violation of those laws? That he should occupy a high place in the service of Government without being aware of this simple thing, is a hardship to the people. He had no power to refund the fine which he had imposed. If he wished to do it, he should have paid the fine back from his own pocket. We hope that the Government will consider what an amount of mischief may be possible at the hands of impatient and unjust officers, and discontinue appointing such men in their courts of law and in the high offices under their ~~fixt.~~ gift.

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9. An article in the Manorama, of the 26th January, says that Mr. Jackson, Joint Magistrate of Chingleput, convicted a boy of seven years for "salaaming" him in a loud tone and sentenced him to a fine of Rs.5. The boy's father asked for copies of the records with a view to prefer an appeal to the High Court, but they were refused. As Mr. Jackson subsequently knew that his procedure was illegal, he refunded the fine to the boy's father declaring the whole proceedings as void in law. He has, it appears ten years' service and even acted for a time as a Sessions Judge. It is, however, a consolation that he has admitted his mistake.

Mr. Jackson's salaaming case.

The Kerala Sanchari, of the 24th January, referring to the same subject, says that this matter should not escape the attention of the High Court and Government.

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28. The Alhami, of the 21st January, writes, that the Government has unravelled many political knots in fixing Delhi as the future capital of India. It is from the military point of view a better and more stragegical position than Calcutta. It is situated at a distance of about 1,000 miles from Bombay, the western gate of India. It is also a very important and big junction of all Indian Railways. The climate also is very salubrious and moderate. This change too has financial importance attached to it.

The transfer of the capital to Delhi,

In Short, this selection for the capital is the work of the greatest statesman.

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29. The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 24th January, states with reference to the annulment of the partition of Bengal, that the Islamic Press and the Anglo-Indian Press seem to be of opinion that their future policy should be - (1) the effecting of a reconciliation between Hindus and Mussalmans, and (2) the giving of wider publicity to their demands and the making of their demands in a louder tone, the abolishing of the Muslim League and the Mussalmans joining the congress, this latter being the only body which can urge its claims with success.

The annulment of the partition and the future policy of Mussalmans.

In refutation of such policy the paper observes that there has never been any antagonism between Hindus and Mussalmans, nor can there be in future. It is true that there are differences of opinion between Hindus and Mussalmans as regards certain political and special matters; and these differences cannot be removed until their respective demands have reached a common limit and the requirements of both nationalities have been standardised.

The congress has always been opposed to the Muslim claims. The Hindus will not forego their claim nor will the Mussalmans ignore theirs. The late Sir Saiyid prevented that Mussalmans from joining t[…] congress on the plea that they should not do so u[…]

they, the Mussalmans, had attained a standard of education equal to that of the Hindus. Muhammadans have not since then made much progress. Take, for instance, the case of Madras; it may be said that the paucity of educated Muhammadans still continues just as it was some twenty years ago. As to the proposed abolition of the Muslim League it should be understood that the League was not established in opposition to the Hindus nor to the Congress. This being the case, and in view of the difference of opinion that exists between the communities as to political matters, the League could not be abolished. The congress has, for its aims and agenda, Swaraj, Boycott, annulment of separate electorates and exclusion of the Mussalmans, from the advantages of compulsory primary education. This must prove objectionable to Mussalmans. For otherwise will not their established policy be interfered with? The Mussalmans have been praised by the British Government because of the fact that the Mussalmans policy is devoid of any self-interestedness and because their demands are based rather on national than on political matters. With these remarks the paper advises Mussalmans not to give up their policy as any change will be opposed to their national and religious traditions.

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45. The Royal visit. Commenting on His Majesty's reply to the address presented by the University of Calcutta, the Sadhvi, of the 1st February, in the course of a lengthy leading article, says:--"..............................

His Majesty's reply to the address of the University of Calcutta is a glorious message of long cherished hope, and we are sure that the attempts, however selfish, of men like Lord Curzon can ever have the effect of misrepresenting the plain and straightx forward pledges of His Majesty. We have received

VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

46. Indian loyalty. In an article attempting to point out the fundamental difference between the Indian and the Western ideals of loyalty, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 27th January, observes:--Though there may be discontent here and dissatisfaction there in regard to certain acts and certain aspects of British rule in India, nevertheless, there is, underlying all these symptoms of disapproval, a deep and fervent loyalty to the British Crown. The reason assigned by English writers for this apparent paradox is this- the people of India having been from time immemorial accustomed to personal rulers, they neither desire nor understand the intervention of representative bodies and institutions in the Government of their country. Arguing from this, some of the English thinkers seek to prove that the only form of Government suited to India is absolute monarchy, that personal element which the Eastern mind loves to

recognise being altogether absent from the republican form. It is not our intention here to expose the fallacy of this view, but we will only attempt to examine and compare the fundamentally different bases of Hindu and Western loyalty.

The Hindu's attachment to the person of the Sovereign is founded on a conception of sovereignty which ennobles and exalts Hindu loyalty to an extent which places it on an immutable basis. For there are two points of view from which the question of Hindu loyalty may be looked at--the religious and the political. The Hindu point of view is that the Sovereign is not a mere secular institution, and the Hindu's loyalty, therefore, rests on no mere secular basis. The Sovereign is held to be a representative of God on earth, directing, moulding and regulating all his power and authority along channels conducive to the highest interests of humanity--national righteousness and collective moral good. The King is endowed with the highest mission and consequently with the highest power.

Entirely different is the Western conception of Kingship and the State. In the West the King is purely a secular insitution, a mere servant of the State. He is only tolerated because he is thought to be necessary for preserving the unity and harmony of the State. That exalting spiritual conception of the Sovereign as the champion of the law of morality and righteousness, which is the characteristic feature of the Hindu ideal is entirely absent from the Western conception. This accounts for the frequency of revolutions in the West, as well as for the greater advancement of the Westerns in civic ideas and in the political is

as distinguished from the moral Government of the State. The same fact explains the dislike in which Kingship was universally held in England before the days of Queen-Victoria.

Such being the important difference between the Eastern and the Western ideals of loyalty, we think it would not be wise, in our efforts to reach the political goal held up by the venerable Mr.Dadhaboy Naoraji, viz., self-government within the empire, to shift the foundations of Indian loyalty, already deep, fervent, instinctive and spiritual, and plant the same on an unstable secular basis-the basis of political expediency.

In a short leader on the same subject, the Sadhvi, of the 1st February, says:--The reason why loyalty is an inalienable trait of Hindu character is that his peculiar conception of sovereignty looks upon the relations of the King to his subjects as much the same as those of a father to his children. It is at once his duty and privilege as King to strive for the good of his people, and to have his happiness in the happiness of his subjects; and as he does nothing without the advice of his minister any mistakes that may be committed in the administration are fastened on the Minister who alone is responsible for them. Thus the people have no reason to cherish treason against the King, even if the Government goes wrong. Such being the Hindu ideal of loyalty, it is no wonder that His Majesty the King-Emperor's recent

visit to India evoked such an outburst of enthusiasm and affection throughout the length and breadth of the country. This makes it clear that if any dissatisfaction with the acts or policy of the Government should arise, it will be the bureaucracy, that carries on the administration, and not the people, that is to blame. So if all the officials of the Government strive to make the people happy in accordance with the Hindu ideal of sovereignty, there is not the slightest doubt that the British rule in India will last as long as the sun and moon themselves.

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No. 7 Of 1912.

For the Week ending 10th February, 1912.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Disproportion of Indians to Europeans in Higher appointments.

23. An article in the Manorama, of the 2nd February, says that from the answer given in the Imperial Legislative Council to the question put by the Honourable Raja of Dighapatia about the number of appointments on Rs.500 and over held by the Indians and Europeans in 1910 as compared with those in 1867 it appears that the proportion is not adequate to the present conditions of the education and aspirations of the Indians.

VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

27. Swaraj for India. Quoting Sir J.D.Rees to have stated that it would be foolish to think of granting swaraj to India, as she is not capable of organising a navy to protect herself, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd February, observes:--The ways of Sir J.D.Rees are already known to be crooked. It is a fallacy to say that if India is granted swaraj, she will not be able to organise a navy. First of all, swaraj, if granted to the Indians, will only be on the model of the colonies and as England has undertaken the naval defence of the colonies, she will not grudge to do so in the case of India. Secondly, once India acquires swaraj, she will have a control over her income and expenditure and she will be then in a position to curtail her expenses and save enough of money for a navy. Thirdly, if Swaraj is bestowed upon the Indians, the feeling that the Government is their's will increase their love for their country and they will be prepared to contribute the sum necessary for a navy in the shape of additional taxes. Is not Japan, which is as poor as India, now maintaining her own navy on a level with the Great Powers? Is not Italy now financing a war, though it is a poor country and the people are ground down by heavy taxation? Why should not India also do so?

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NO. 8 OF 1912.

For the Week ending 17th February, 1912.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

33. The Barq-e-Sakhun, of the 15th January, on the authority of the Panjabi, writes that Mr.G.H. Jackson, Joint Magistrate of Chingleput, inflicted a fine of Rs.5 or in default an award of one week's imprisonment in the case of a lad of only 7 years the son of a respectable merchant and municipal commissioner, on the charge of giving a salaam to the Magistrate in a loud tone while the latter was cycling on the road. It is a matter for great regret that such severe notice was taken by the Magistrate against an innocent lad. Even if it be admitted that the mode of salaaming was ridiculous or rude, one cannot expect a boy of tender age to have the manners one expects from adults. It is hoped that the Government will quash the sentence passed by the Joint Magistrate.

Salaming-an offence.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

37. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th February, says:--

Mutual sympathy between the Indians and the British.

In the meetings held in different places to convey to Their Majesties the heartfelt gratitude of the People for their visit to this Country, special mention was made of the wish expressed by His Majesty that the same spirit of union which was exhibited by the people of India in welcoming him should guide them in their communal and social life. There is no doubt that union is now a sine qua non for the progress of the Indians. But it is also necessary, in the interests of the British Empire as a whole, that the Indians and the British should evince a mutual regard for each other and co-operate in helping the growth of the Empire. The destinies of both the Indians and the British are linked together by the tie of subjection to the same Sovereign. There are many ways in which the British public can help the Indians. So, let us hope that the British will treat the Indians in a friendly manner and reciprocate the regard and esteem which the latter have for them.

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NO. 9 OF 1912.

For the week ending 24th February 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

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The Tinnevelly conspiracy case.

2. In commenting on this case, the Wednesday Review, of the 21st February, says:-- Considering the gravity of the crime, the sentences passed are none too severe. Probably their ~~their~~ lordships thought that as there was no political disturbance~~s~~ in their air more deterrent punishment was not necessary. The fact that the accused were all obscure youths and commanded no personal influence worth the name does not minimise the serious character of their offence and the Chief Justice was right in saying that although in a sense the conspiracy was contemptible, it was not negligible and even though no acts of lawlessness and violence had taken place as the outcome of the conspiracy, it was impossible to overestimate its mischievous influence on the minds of those who were its members............A word of praise is due to Mr.P.B.Thomas, the Deputy Inspector-General, and Mr.T.Venkoba Rao, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, who bore the brunt of the work in connection with the investigation and prosecution of the case.

"We have no doubt the successful prosecution of the case will put an effectual stop to seditious pro-

propaganda of any kind in British territory and it is not likely that the fate of the accused in the trial which has just ended will be son forgotten. But there has been ample evidence to show that the seditious wires are being pulled from somewhere else. To each those who are behind the wires is not, of course, easy, and there are difficulties in the way which will be magnified into international rights and things of that sort. But if our Government act determinedly and make proper representations to the authorities concerned, it is only a matter of time to root out the conspirators, whoever they may be, who are debauching the minds of unwary youths in British territory, under the shelter of a foreign Government. We dare say crimes which lead to assassination are not protected by any international law. No just law can sanction crime and a criminal under one Government cannot prove a good citizen under another."

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

6. The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd February, writes:-- "The judgments of the learned Judges, who constituted the Special Tribunal, are now before us; and a glance at the names of the fourteen accused persons will at once draw one's eyes to the respective occupation that is mentioned against each. They were charged with having conspired to wage war against His Majesty the King-Emperor. The first, Nilakantan, a youth of 21, had been, as stated by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Ayling, previously engaged in journalistic work very largely, if not mainly, of a seditious nature,

seditious nature, and his last employment had been as editor of the Suryodaya, a vernacular paper published in Pondicherry, which was proscribed by the Government in March 1910', and he is the only one belonging to journalism. Four others are cultivators whose ages range between 18 and 24. Three are cooks, aged 23, 25 and 26 respectively. Two are described as merchants aged 21 and 30. One is a gorcer, one a pot-seller, one a vakil's gumasta, and one a schoolmaster............. This promiscuous army of warriors were, it was alleged, to have organised a war to attain Swaraj. And the base of their operations was apparently to be Pondicherry. It is an enigma what this diverse conglomeration of young men had to hope for from Swaraj; and what part cooks could have in a scheme of Swaraj; ~~xmxxxnatxpxxx~~ Government. But the combination is interesting; and perhaps we shall get at the secret of their common aim when we have read the full texts of the two judgments."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

28. In a leader commenting on Mr.Wintson Churchill's recent lecture at Ulster, advocating Home Rule for

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What India has to learn from the success of the Irish Home Rule campaign.

Ireland, the Dravidabhimani, of the 16th February, observes:--The meeting came to a close without any opposition from the Protestants. This shows that it is ultimately possible to conciliate and bring round an educated and really patriotic people. But in India genuine patriotism is at a discount, while

self-seeking men are much in evidence, masquerading as patriots. Insufficient education is the greatest evil we have to contend with. The Hindus and Muhammadans should try gradually to bridge the gulf which separates them, and use their united strength to promote the advancement of their motherland. The fact that an apprehended riot between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants of Ireland has been successfully averted and peaceful relations have been restored ought to furnish an object-lesson to us in this respect.

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An Indo-European Association.

29. The Andhrakesari, of the 16th February, says that Mr. Dudley Myers has proposed to start an Indo-European Association in Calcutta. His object in so doing is to create a public body representing the citizens of Calcutta irrespective of caste or creed, who will express a united public opinion. He thinks that such an association is essential for the preservation of the common rights of man which have of late been affected in Calcutta by the removal of the capital to Delhi. By this change, the importance of Calcutta has considerably gone and the commercial interests of the European community have been greatly affected. Such an association was proposed once or twice before, but the Europeans were not particular about it because they were not fully convinced of its necessity. On those occasions the rights of Indians only were endangered, but at present the proposed changes in the Government of India have affected the interests of both the communities. That the Executive should disregard the voice of the

public, says the paper, is a hardship to the European as well as the Indian, and in no other country is the administration controlled by the Executive exclusively. The paper, in conclusion, says that the power of the officials is growing day by day and hopes that the attempt to check it by starting an association of the kind proposed may be crowned with success.

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No. 10 Of 1912.

For the week ending 2nd March 1912.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

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The C.I.D. Police.

9. In its leading columns, the Desabhimani, of the 22nd February, has the following in English:-- "It is time that the Government does away with the special branch of the C.I.D. The circumstances that necessitated the establishment of such a department do no longer exist now. The ill-fated partition of Bengal and Lord Curzon's scouting the public opinion brought in their train undesirable evils in the land. Sedition increased; anarchism, foreign to Indian mind, appeared in the land. Consequently tribunals for the trial of political cases increased. Special laws were framed. Old regulations invented by the arbitrary rule of the East

India Company were ~~uneanthed.~~ unearthed. In short, the whole country was convulsed from one end to another by the reactionary and unsympathetic administration of the ever-memorable Viceroy Lord Curzon. But happily his whole edifice was brought to the ground by the sympathetic dealings of His Majesty the King-Emperor, Lord Hardinge, Lord Morley and Lord Minto. They have perceived the diagnosis of the unrest and applied an effective and safe remedy, and launched an era of peaceful, beneficent and sympathetic administration.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that during that great unrest, the educated people were the most annoyed by the over-zealous activities of the C.I.D. Innocent people were charged with the most heinous of crimes, as was brought out by Calcutta High Court in the Midnapur Bomb case. But for the breadth of view of the Calcutta High Court at that time, still worse things would have taken place.

"The special branch of the C.I.D. is tried and found wanting. It has been a source of irritation to honest and independent workers than a dread to the really wicked. Now it may be confidentially asserted that the country has resumed its peaceful activity. The discontent has given room to contentment, and His Majesty's visit to the country has amply testified the loyalty of the country towards the Sovereign. His Majesty also is perfectly satisfied with the enthusiasm displayed by the whole country from one end to another in according a hearty reception to their Sovereign. In such a state of the country, it is no longer advisable for the Government to keep a special branch of the C.I.D to watch over people's activities.

It is painful for a whole nation to be constantly looked up with suspicion and distrust, and so long as the activities of the C.I.D. are directed towards the honest efforts of independent public workers towards the amelioration of their country, it is difficult to carry on any public work, be it social, political or industrial with any amount of success. The bulk of the people will not trust safely such a public worker under those circumstances. Such hindrances will not conduce to the ordered progress of the country.

"We are glad that Lord Hardinge's Government is alive to this grievance and appear to be reducing their number. We request, in the interests of peace, justice and progress, that this special branch to watch the movements of the educated be abolished in its entirety, and that the Government will place a firm trust and confidence in the loyalty and good sense of the Indians. It is not by laws or statutes that people will behave well, but by the innate love of the people towards their Sovereign. The Indians are by the ordinance of their scriptures bound to respect their Sovereign; and we are sure no other nation in the world can show a better appreciation of loyalty than the Indians".

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NO. 11 OF 1912.

For the Week ending 9th March 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

IV.--NATIVE STATES.

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Methods for the supression of sedition in Baroda.

3. In referring to the recent Huzur order issued by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, regarding sedition in that state, the Madras Standard, of the 5th March, says:--"Those that took recently a fiendish pleasure in Gaekwar-baiting and tried to misinterpret and magnify an unfortunate mistake would find the lie direct given to their aspersions, by a recent circular regarding the discovery of a seditious book, which His Highness has issued with commendable promptitude. We have before us a copy of the notification of the Huzur order promulgated for general information, a summary of which has already appeared in our telegraphic columns. The author of the book has already been brought to justice and his press has been confiscated. But His Highness has not stopped there. His impassioned exhortation to his people, to be loyal to the Paramount Power with whose interests those of Baroda are inseparably bound, is sure to find a sincere and enthusiastic response.............To an enlightened Prince like the Gaekwar repressive measures can never be to his taste. But, however much he might deplore it, he has demonstrated to the few misguided men in the State that he has the firmness to enforce measures that will strike at the root of a disaffection which

can never be to the true interests of his State and to the welfare and happiness of the millions committed by Providence to his care."

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

6. The Indian Patriot, of the 4th March, has the following:--"As President of the All-India Muslim League, which opened its sittings at Calcutta last Saturday, the pent up feelings of the noble Nawab Salimullah of Decca gave way. He certainly did not confirm the assertion of Lord Curzon in the House of Lords about the ribbon of honour and the rope round the neck, but he did everything except that...... Those who know and believe that Nawab Salimullah owes his importance to the partition of Bengal would certainly admire the self-denial of the nobleman in bearing the calamity with reserve. The undoing of the partition, whatever it is, is the undoing of the political greatness of the Nawab. The Nawab had borne it well enough, until he had the opprotunity to throw himself bare at the meeting of the Muslim League................He sees, in the Royal boon regarding the partition of Bengal, such horrible things as the annulment of the partition having the appearance of a ready concession to the clamours of an utterly seditious agitation. It has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority; moreover, it has discredited the British

The All-India Muslim League.

rule to an extent which is deeply to be regretted. It has hitherto been felt throughout the East that the word of the British Government is its bond, come what may, the Government cannot go back on his plighted word. Anything which weaknes this belief must irreparably injure British prestige in India and the East in general. And, loyal friend as he is, he is sorry that the Government has demeaned itself to such a plight.... ....Knowing, as the Muhammadans did, that sedition and anarchism are the only means of getting something out of the Government, and most feverishly anxious, as they were, to get back the supremacy of Dacca, What great loyalty, self-sacrifice, and powerful influence of leadership is it that held the Muhammadans in check, that threw over them a complacent look, that even compelled them to go to the Indian National Congress and seek the hand of fellowship with Hindus? Whole India has certainly to learn much about political agitation and powerful leadership from Eastern Bengal Muhammadans and Nawab Salimullah."

The Madras Standard, of the 6th March, remarks:-- "The annual session of the Muslim League which has just closed reminds us once again of the change in the attitude of the Muhammadans towards political agitation. Time, was and not so far back, when the majority of them thought, that the line between political agitation and disloyalty was hard to draw. They kept themselves as a body not only aloof from the Indian National Congress, but free from any independent political agitation of their own............... But

all this is changed now, and though the particular policy of the Congress, in not a few respects, does not find favour with the Muslim League, not only has political agitation been started by the Indian Muhammadans on their own account, as the existence of the league itself bears witness to, but there is discernible an energy, a tone, and a spirit in pressing certain questions, in which it is interested, on the Government and in criticising the policy and measures of the latter that bid fair to break all records of the Congress in this direction. We are not putting forth these reflections by way of complaint or condemnation, but only in the hope that Indian Mussalmans will see, the injustice and inconsistency of criticising the methods of the Congress, however much they may still disagree with its aims."

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9. In a leader on this subject, the Hindu, of the 9th March, writes:--

Indians in British East Africa.

"In his feeble, and unconvincing defence of the system of indentured labour, the Hon'ble Mr.Clarke stated the other day in the Imperial Legislative Council that the Government of India had no special interest in the Colonies, but, at the same time, the Colonies were part of the Empire, and they were not desirous to harm and put an end to a system which was beneficial to them unless very good cause was shown for so doing". We should think that the earliest opportunity should be taken in the Council to object to this statement which proceeds on a gorss misapprehension of the responsibilities

of the Government~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ of India in regard to anything which is aimed at the self-respect of Indians...............We would fain believe that the observation was made without weighing its full significance, for it will be unfortunate if the impression gains ground that the welfare of Indians is not the first consideration of the Government of India. The colonies would only be emboldened to harrass Indians more and more and make their position utterly intolerable. If the Colonies had been troubled with the same thought as apparently annoys Mr.Clarke, the world would have been spared the tales of woe and horror that British Indians living in them have had to tell. The indignities that are heaped on them in British East Africa, the disabilities they suffer under and the restirctions that are imposed on their freedom are such that no self-respecting people can tolerate for an instant. Yet precious little has been done by the Imperial Government to ameliorate their condition and remind the Colony which is a part of the Empire', that India also is another part whose people should be treated in an honourable manner...............We have often detailed the grievances in these columns, but for the sake of convenience they may be summarised. Indians are prohibited from leasing or acquiring land in certain tracts of the country, though it is a fact that but for their labour they would not be developed. Indentured immigration from India is at present confined to the requirements of the Uganda Railway which employs nearly 2,000 Indians. But private employers have been

clamouring for Indians indentured labourers and the Sanderson Committee have recommended that this should be allowed only on condition that the labourer on completion of his contract is free to remain in East Africa and settle where he pleases. It is necessary that the Government of India should refuse to consent to do any measure of this kind. Racial considerations are now given prominence in respect of the application of the Emigration Act, of course, to the detriment of British Indians. Differential treatment is now accorded to Indians in steamers and on railways. Europeans alone have the right to be tried by jury, and Indians are denied it even as regards very serious offences. The life of Indian prisoners in jails is made intolerable, no consideration is paid to their religious scruples and mean and dirty work is assigned to them. Indians are at present excluded from all appointments to the magisterial bench. There are others which make Indians look small in their own eyes and which the Colony delights on imposing on the former. The race prejudice is at the bottom of all this........ The ostensible ground which the Imperial Government have been assigning for their inability to have their influence felt on the Transvaal, Natal and Australia is that they are self-governing colonies. About the merits of this policy there are grave doubts. But no such consideration ought to weigh in respect of British East Africa which is a Crown Colony and the administration of which rests entirely with the Colonial Office and the Imperial Government".

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

Darbar changes in the Parliament.

37. The Desabhimani, of the 27th February, has the following leader in its English columns:--The debate in the House of Lords about the recent important changes is interesting for more reasons than one. The opposition by Lord Curzon and the crushing reply of Lord Crewe are the most interesting features of the debate. We shall examine Lord Curzon's several grounds of opposition. The first ground and the queerest ground to our mind is that he was not consulted as to the changes. Lord Curzon is by one and all admitted to be the cause of the great unrest in India. He scoffed at public opinion in the most irresponsible way. Millions of Bengalis begged, petitioned and prayed not to partition Bengal but he paid to deaf ear to every memorial. The crowning act of arrogance is manifest in refusing audience to Sir Henry Cotton, who is a member of Parliament--a person who was ~~not~~ most intimately connected with Bengal, whom Bengalis ever remember as a sympathetic administrator, so much so he is called Babu Cotton, and who was the President of the Indian National Congress--a position which is the best fruit of a patriotic Indian's labour in the cause of his country. Can there be a more irresponsible scouting of public opinion? And yet this sage has commenced to preach the great doctrine of Consultation of public opinion' and more especially consultation with him. It is his

edifice that brought misery upon the land and it is his edifice that His Majesty and his Ministers wish to throw overboard. Can anybody be so simple as to think that to undo the wrong done by a certain person, the same person should be taken into close confidence? He wants the world to believe that responsible bodies or persons were consulted by him before Bengal was partitioned. Surely men's memories cannot be so shortlived as to swallow Lord Curzon's sugar pills.

"His next ground expresses a grave concern for the Bengali public opinion. He has shed crocodile tears for the probably result of the change of capital, viz., the lessening of Bengali influence. He himself admits that the partition was made to please East Bengal Muhammadans when he says, 'You yielded to a fictitious agitation and bitterly offended the Muhammadans and taught them to doubt the words of the British Raj', as if he promised special concessions to the Muhammadans in the partition of Bengal. But even the best representative of the Muhammadans at present His Highness the Aga Khan welcomed the reversal of the partition on the ground that a whole nation like the Bengalis should not be kept under perpetual discontent. Perhaps there is still the Nawab of Dacca to back up Lord Curzon. As Lord Crewe observed in his reply:-

"There would have been bitter disappointment, if the Darbar had turned out to be merely an occasion for a spectacle of pageantry, however magnificent, and a feeling that no serious meaning was to be attached to Their Majesties" visit."

"Unfortunately for Lord Curzon very few sympathised with his outpourings. Even Lord Lansdowne, his chief companion, said, "We will do nothing to interfere with the success of the new policy and none will be pleased, if our apprehensions prove groundless.'

"Another comic feature in the debate may be noticed. Lord Curzon quoted the leading nobleman of Muhammadans to have said when decorated at Delhi the ribbon you hang round my neck is a halter with which I am to hang myself.'

"Lord Crewe asked what authority he had for making the statement, and he pointed out that it would be a grievous injury to the very loyal gentleman it was obviously pointed at, although the latter at Delhi was very ill and was never invested with decoration. The scene ended with a mean apology for having told the story by Lord Curzon."

"Lord Curzon has believed his act to have been recognised as a settled fact and his belief is shattered to pieces. He is now crest-fallen and his words are the words of sorrow-stricken person trying to appear bold and he failed in the attempt. Everybody could see through him and his speech lasting, as it is reported, for one and three-quarters of an hour failed to make any impression in the House but excited the contempt and ridicule of Lord Ampthill, Lord Macdonnell and Lord Harris. Another incongruity is that Lord Curzon once denied the responsibility for the partition and threw the blame on Lord Ampthill, who flung back the false retrot against the author himself. Now he takes upon him the responsibility for the partition.

"We need not discuss the lengths of absurdity into which Lord Curzon has gone. It was a spectacle for gods and men. We concur with the Bengalee which truly observes, 'If the case against Government was weak, it was bound to be made even weaker by the association of Lord Curzon with it.'"

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38. Under this heading, the Sadhvi, of the 1st March, observes:--

"General principles for the Government of India."

"Dr.J.Beatti Crozier has contributed an article to the Fortnightly Review in which he has laid down a few general principles for the Government of India. With regard to the Indian Princes, he says, he would make up to them in honours for any ultimate political powers which the necessities of British Supremacy must deny to them. He says that they must be content to enjoy their rights. This is no doubt a novel method of dealing with Native Princes. There are, no doubt, Native Princes who will be content with empty honours; but it must be borne in mind that one and all of them know the hollowness of these honours and realise in their heart of hearts that most of them are veritable idiots if they sacrifice the substance for the glamour. The desire to have the honours as the figt of the Empire may satisfy them for a time, but a time will come sooner or latter, much sooner than latter, when the taste for superficial glamour becomes insipid and when a longing desire for substance becomes the order of the day. Then, the

general principle for the Government of India will have to be changed in this matter. We do not think that the Imperial principle laid down by the Doctor is the principle approved by the British nation............... The very boons give by His Imperial Majesty to the people of India with the advice of his responsible Indian Ministers is proof positive, if proof be wanted, that the British Sovereign and the good British people are ready to allow the Indian Princes as well as the Indian people to take such part in the administration of the Empire as their attainments, character and capacity entitle them to do justice to. We assure Dr.Crozier that the vicious principle he has laid down for the treatment of the Indian Princes is one which good British people would never approve of. We are sure that, if we qualify ourselves to exercise the political powers which Englishmen enjoy, we would be the first to receive these privileges from the high-minded and disinterested British people. Dr.Crozier says that he would grant Europeanised young Brahmins an equality of opportunity to all those positions and honours, to which their abilities qualify them and he would allow them to go up even to the Imperial Legislative Council. He observes that he would even extend to them authority in all the civil affairs of their country, reserving the supremacy of ultimate power exclusively to the British people themselves. He says that he would never give any popular franchise to the Indians. Man proposes but it is God in whose hand lies the disposal of such great national questions. Lord Curzon effected the Partition of Bengal. This became a settled fact by the decision of the Secretary of State for India and His Imperial Majesty, our gracious Emperor, undid what

was considered undoable (sic). We wee the hand of God in it and it is on this account that the people of India see in His Majesty an incarnation of God. What prevents God from extending to the loyal people of India authority to co-ordinate with that of the British people, when they become fit for that exercise of such authority in every way? What is there to prevent the extension of popular franchise to the people of India if they become fit to have it?"

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39. In an article under this heading, the Sadhvi, of the 1st March, observes:--

"Awake, arise or be for ever fallen".

We, in India, are enjoying the blessings of peace and tranquility. His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor strengthened the foundations of love and loyalty to an Imperial rule. We live under an empire which is not absolute, but limited and constitutional. His Majesty has shown that he himself, with his constitutional advisers, is the ultimate authority in the Empire. He boldly undid what had been done to set man against man and race against race in India. It is in this that he strengthened the confidence of the ruled in the justice and fairplay of the rulers. Now there is a splendid opportunity to awake from the coma of hybernation, to ignore the conventional barriers between race and race, to establish the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God and strive for our material and moral salvation without the conventional bias of caste, colour and creed.

There is a social as well as industrial revolution going on all over the world. We should not fall behind in the race for progress; if we lag behind we shall never be able to keep paee with the progressive nations of the world............"

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NO.12 OF 1912.

For the Week ending 16th March 1912.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education.

17. Backward classes. A correspondent to the Desmata, of the 6th March, says that two and a half years ago the Senate of the Madras University won the gratitude of the backward classes by arranging for their primary education on half-freescholarship. The children of Gouda and Setti classes, who are very backward in education, came under the category of backward classes of people are otherwise known as Gamalla and Ediga. The Inspector of Schools, Amalapuram range, has chosen to make a diff[illegible]ence between the former two names and the latter two, and has led a compaign, says the correspondent, against the Gouda and Setti classes, ignoring the fact that the difference is only a difference in names, and that the object of the Senate is to spread education among the backward classes without distinction of caste or creed. The correspondent regrets to say that the Inspector has issued a circular to the schools in his

range that the rule regarding half-freescholarship applies only to the Gamalla and the Ediga classes and not to the Gouda and the Setti classes.

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The emigration of Indian coolies to the colonies.

23. In commenting upon the resolution brought froward in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale, recommending the complete stoppage of the system of indentured Indian labour to the British Colonies, the Swadesamitran, of the 6th March, observes :--

It is really surprising that, in spite of the lucid exposition, by the Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale, of the most inhuman way in which the Indians were being treated in the colonies, the official members in the Council should have stated that the present system of indenturing Indian labour to the colonies was practically beneficial to the Indians. The Hon'ble Mr.Clark said that it was not wholly true that the Indians were having a bad time of it in the Colonies and based its argument upon the report of a committee of Britishers in 1902 that the condition of the Indian coolies in the colonies was, on the whole, satisfactory. Strange indeed! Mr.Clark [illegible] also observed that Mr.Gokhale was carried away by his partiality for his countrymen in discussing this matter. Would not the British members of the Committee have been swayed by the same partiaaity for their countrymen in coming to a decision in 1902? We do not think the members of a British Committee can sufficiently realise the cruel way in which the Indian coolies are being treated by the implacable white planters in the colonies.

It was stated that the average number of coolies now going to the colonies was only 8,000 Indians be sent out of the country? The truth is that this system of indentured labour is practically beneficial to the Colonies which form part of the British Empire, and so the British Government is averse to put a stop to it.

The Lokppakari, of the 11th March, comments upon this subject as follows:--

The Hon'ble Mr.Clark, who opposed the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale, was more solicitous about the loss which might result to his countrymen, by the stoppage of the system of indentured labour, than about the cruel way in which these coolies were being treated by the whites in the colonies. Perhaps he did not realise that the Indian coolies in the colonies were as much human beings as himself! It is curious indeed that the European members of the Legislative Council, who voted against the resolution, forgot that it was their duty to judge of things impartially. In this case, the unanimous opinion of the Indian element in the Legislative Council has been set at naught by the view of the European majority, and we ask whether this is in consonance with the watchword of hope left to us by His Majesty recently. The Government of India exists to redress the grievances of the Indians and give satisfaction to them and not to uphold the interests of the Europeans in the British Colonies. We hope the authorities will bear this in mind.

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35. Referring to a pamphlet published by Mr. Jeevanjee, an Indian Muhammadan Member of the Legislative Council of East Africa, in which he is reported to refer to the sufferings of the Indians caused by the white settlers trying to oust them from that country and to advocate its being placed under the control of the Government of India, the Swadesamitran of the 11th March, observes:--The lot of the Indians is the same all over the British colonies. Where at all is their condition satisfactory? We, Indians, should be incessantly raising our voice in pressing our rights in the British Empire. The British Ministry pleads inability to intercede on behalf of the Indians suffering in Natal and other colonies on the ground that they are self-governing countries. But why should the Indians be put to such difficulties in the Crown colonies like East Africa which do not enjoy self-government, but are under the direct control of the British Ministry?

Indians in South Africa.

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No. 13 Of 1912.

For the Week ending 23rd March 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION

(a) Police.

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1. The Indian Patriot, of the 19th March, writes:--

The Criminal Investigation department.

"The full text of Mr.Gokhale's speech, which we published yesterday, on Mr.Bhupendra Nath Basu's resolution for an enquiry into the police administration, contains enough to show that the Criminal Investigation department is not working in an ideal way. Nobody will deny that its Government requires some agency to collect information about men and matters such as the department supplies. Nobody wants the Government to be ignorant of what is passing around. But for secret information which has to be gathered in a secret way the police must go about in a less obtrusive manner and they must be able to discriminate between man and man. It cannot be a merit in the police if they cannot collect the information they want without their activities becoming known to the public at large and without making themselves offensive to the most influential and most respected members of the community. The merit of a secret department must consist in its secrecy, in its being able to do its work without fuss and noise................The practice

~~The Practice~~ of employing ignorant policemen for this difficult duty is partly responsible for incorrect, misleading and false reports of what people say. They hear what they do not understand, and report as they understand it. The complaint has been not infrequent from the most respected men that they are offensively shadowed by the police; and what the police report about them they do not know unless, as in the case of Mr.Gokhale, some friendly official tells them.......... We do not think that any usefull purpose will be served by an enquiry such as Mr.Basu recommended. We all know what the matter for inquiry is. What is wanted is better men for the department, and better control by superior officers..................That Mr.Gokhale, who is esteemed as a leader of the best Indian public opinion alike by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State in England as by the Viceroy in India, should be subjected to surveillance by policemen and misreported to Government is surely an irony which would not have been possible but for the utter incompetence of the Criminal Investigation department. And such a department must be ended if it cannot be mended."

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(k) General.

3. The West Coast Spectator, of the 16th March, writes as follows:--

The Indian public service.

"The Hon'ble Mr.Subba Rao, who is doing yeoman service in the Imperial Legislative Council by pressing on the attention of the Government the claims of his countrymen for a larger share in the public service, was to move the following resolution:--

That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Provincial Services as now constituted in the civil administration of the country be abolished, and that this Council recommends to the Governor-General that the competitive examination now held in England for appointments to the civil service in this country should, hereafter, be helf simultaneously both in India and in England'. But this resolution was not brought forward and discussed, the Government having intimated to Mr.Subba Rao that the subject is under correspondence with the Secretary of State. We do not know the nature of the correspondence, whether it is proposed to resuscitate competitive examinations for the Provincial Civil Service abolished by that superior person, Lord Curzon, or to hold the ~~[illegible]~~ civil service examination simultaneously in India and in England. What ever it may be, it is earnestly to be hoped that the Government of India has realised the injustice done ~~[illegible]~~ to the Indians. The agitation in

The agitation in favour of simultaneous examinations is as old as the hills.......................All-fair-minded persons must admit that simultaneous examinations must be inaugurated, both as a matter of justice to India and with a view to ensure the efficiency of the service, for in a country like India administration can be well carried out only through the co-operation and agency of the Indians themselves along with Europeans...............A certain class of people tell us that Englishmen belong to a superior race, and therefore must predominate in the public service. But it is rather too late in the day to fall back upon mere racial considerations. Racial qualifications, it must be remembered, are not moral qualifications. We have a strong claim to be admitted to all competitive examinations for the Indian service. ....The time has surely come for the Government to dismiss all racial considerations from their mind and to abolish all racial tests for appointments. We are glad to learn that the whole question is being considered, but we hope that this consideration will not result in our getting the shadow for the substance."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

VI.--MISCELLANEOUS

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Imperialism and Imperial Federation.

35. In commenting on the article on "Imperialism and Imperial Federation" contributed ~~contributed~~ to the February number of the Indian Review by Professor V.K.Kale, M.A., of the Fergusson College, Poona, the Desabhimani, of the 12th March, passes the following remarks in English:--"The self-Governing colonies are loath to regard Indians as members of Imperial Union. The humiliating treatment accorded to Indians in South Africa, Canada, Australia, etc;, is the greatest impediment to the Imperial Union. Naturally Indians headed by Mr.Gandhi resented the treatment and organised a system of passive resistance. But when the Indians are necessitated to take up retaliatory measures against South Africa, no true union is possible and the theories of high-minded politicians like J.Chamberlain are mere pious wishes. The Imperial Government are unable to displease the colonials and put a wholesome pressure upon the colonial legislature to stop this inhuman treatment. The latest example is found in Hon'ble Mr.Clarke's reply to the proposal of Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale in the Imperial Council to stop the system of indentured labour. The member for the Government conceded every point raised by Mr.Gokhale but could not accept the proposition because it offends the colonies, and the Government was not prepared to incur their displeasure. Hence, unless the feeing in the colonies and in many quarters in the

mother country undergoes a material change, no genuine Imperial federation is conceivable. Unless the position of India in the Imperial federation is duly considered, and her interests consulted, the Imperial federation will not be welcomed by Indians. Many politicians are apt to disregard this aspect of the question when the proposal of federation is considered. Professor V.G.Kale most clearly sought to emphasize the Indian point of view in his thoughtful contribution, and we hope that British politicians will look to the enormous difficulties Indian problem presents, before accepting the Imperial federation as a matter of fact. Otherwise it is only the colonies that are truly benefited and not India."

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The grant of an amnesty to B.G. Tilak.

36. Referring to an article in the Review of Reviews urging the grant of an amnesty to B.G.Tilak in connection with the Darbar boons, the Sadhvi, of the 16th March, observes:--".......... Mr.Stead's advocacy of Mr.Tilak's release is based, we think, on sound reason and common sense. Mr.Tilak is a blunt patriot. It is men of this description who can be relied upon in times of danger and difficulty. He may not agree to be released on the condition that he would take no part in politics. Unconditional pardon he would accept most loyally and gratefully. And it is such pardon that converts even enemies into the staunchest friends of the British Empire. Many a Swadeshi patriot consented to the con

conditions on which pardon has been offered to him. Mr.Tilak is the only gentleman who said that he was not a kachra reed to yield to a policy of compromise with his conscience. A lion ought to be treated as a lion, and a rural lion as a rural lion. No less a man than John Stuart Mill has observed that noble people are nobly treated and the ignoble, ignobly. We would say instead of 'Are treated', Should be treated.' Whatever be the faults of Mr.Tilak and we are the first to say that they are blunt faults of a sturdy Mahratta, he is every inch a straightforward man and we venture to say that if an unconditional pardon is extended to him, xxfxxx he would become an unbending pillar of the British Empire. It is a pity that the advisers of His Majesty to extend to him a free and unconditional pardon. Mr.Stead is a philosopher-journalist and we think that his recommendation about the Indian patriots, and specially in regard to Mr.Tilak, deserves the most careful consideration."

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NO. 14 OF 1912.

For the week ending 30th March, 1912.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED NY NATIVES.

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$k) General.

5. The Madras standard, of the 28th March, has the following:-- "At the meeting held under the auspices of the South African League last evening

Indians in South Africa.

a resolution was passed urging the Government of India to take definite steps towards removing the continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa............One of the strongest arguments, so far as the present Government in England is concerend, against the retention of the system of indentured recruitment was furnished by the Bishop of Madras in the course of a letter which was read at yesterday's meeting. His Lordship remarked, very pertinently indeed, that he could not understand how men who condemned indentured Chinese labour in the Transvaal can possibly uphold Indian indentured labour in British Guiana and the West Indies.' The Bishop remarked also that if indentured labour in Assam under the very eyes of the Government of India was not free from abuses, how it could be expected that things could be tolerable in distant colonies where conditions were less favourable and the safeguards less effective. The Revd. Mr. Subramaniam spoke from his personal experience in South Africa and the instances he gave ought to knock the bottom out of the position of apologists, whether in the Imperial Legislative Council or outside it, who, with no personal experience, weekly defend the system, which they think is on the whole good for the Indian labourer........... After the pitiably weak defence made by the Hon'ble Mr. Clarke in the Imperial Legislative Council the other day it should be apparent to the meanest intelligence that nothing rational or just could be said in favour of indentured labour and Mr. Polak was giving expression to no more than the literal truth when he said that it was beyond all question self-condemned in the eyes of righteous men.'........ ....The disabilities of Indians in

in South Africa are not confined to one section or a few sections of the Indian community. They affect all and it is but proper that all Indians without distinction of race or creed should come forward to do what they can to get the disabilities of their countrymen in South Africa removed."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

10. East Africa. Referring to the disabilities which the Indian residents of East Africa suffer at the hands of the European races there, the Desamata, of the 20th March, says that the latter have no reason to ill-treat and hate the former. On the other hand they have every reason to be grateful, because the Indians landed in East Africa even before the Europeans and made the country habitable. By bringing the forest lands under cultivation, they converted the wild and unproductive area of East Africa into a beautiful and fertile garden yielding abundantly. They have been the first to trade in East Africa and to promote civilisation. The Boers and other European races settled there only subsequently and nothing can be more unjust, says the paper, than that they should attempt to drive the Indians. In view of the promises of His Majesty King George V to his Indian subjects, it hopes that the British rulers will remove the disabilities of the Indians in East Africa, discourage differences due to colour, and demonstrate to the world their love of justice and impartiality.

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No.15 Of 1912.

For the week ending 6th April, 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION

(k) General.

Indians in South Africa.

2. In a leader on this subject, the West Coast Reformer, of the 31st March, writes:--"Our readers are doubtless familiar with the lot of our countrymen in Sourth Africa, where because of their race and colour they are subjected to humiliating restrictions and indignities denying to them some of the most elementary rights of citizenship. We, in India, have followed with patriotic admiration the long and arduous struggle of passive resistance, that was initiated by our countrymen there, with the passing of the Registration Act and the Immigration Law in Transwaal in 1907, which created a statutory racial bar against Indians thus placing a stigma upon the people of the motherland..... ....They were hunted down and clapped into jail as felons and deportees as undesirable from the land they lived in and where many of them born. Three thousand five hundred sentences of rigorous imprisonmnet were imposed upon them. Women were widowed, children orphaned, houses broken up, and business and all that goes for material well-being ruined still they kept on their manly spiritual struggle of passive resistance. Then large numbers were deported to India with no form of trial undaunted, these deportees were many of them colonial born, many of them who had lost their worldly

possessions, returned to be deported back or shut up in jail. It was only then that the union of South Africa realised the true potency of the passive resistance movement, and in May 1911 a provinsional settlement was arrived at whereby the Registration Act of 1907 is to be repealed and the statutory racial bar as to inauguration is to be registered...........Yet the troubles of our countrymen in South Africa due to racial prejudices and animosities are not all over. Above all the Bill as introduced now in the Union Parliament while it provides for the repeal of the Registration Act and removes the racial bar of immigration still takes away rights which are being actually enjoyed by our countrymen in South Africa............. We are no nation and we cannot aspire to be a nation if we do not feel when any portion of our race injured anywhere in the globe. Let us also remember that the struggle is a racial struggle, for the preservation of the self-respect of our motherland."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS

Natives and Indians.

34. The Desabhimani, of the 21st March, has the following sub-leader in its English columns:--"The odium attached to the word Natives has been felt by many sections of our countrymen, and we see the latest in the Native Christian community of Madras. They have addressed a letter to the Government to remove the appellation of Native', because the world

is used by Europeans in rather a depreciative spirit. A story is current for a long time. One Anglo-Indian, who was not much in sympathy with Indians, asked an Indian in England, how many natives attended a certain meeting, meaning Indians. The proper retort given was that a few Indians and a major portion of natives (meaning Englishmen) attended the meeting. So the word has lost its proper meaning and stands to quite a different significance altogether. It is such invidious distinction that stands in the way of true understanding between the different nationalities in the land. Mr. Keir-Hardie, M.P., has shown the evil of such distinctions in India in his tour in India. He pointed out the evils arising from having railway compartments reserved for Europeans only. His attention was arrested at very station to the fact that even on latrines it was written European ladies and gentlemen and native men and women. Such small things sometimes create heart-burning. The prayer of the Indian Christians of Madras is a very just one, and the Government will be doing an elementary act of justice by granting the request. The Imperial Government must also see its way of adopting the same policy throughout the whole of India."

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No. 16 Of 1912.

For the week ending 12th April, 1912.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The benefits of the British rule.

22. The Shams-il-Akhbar, of the 1st April, enumerates the various blessings conferred upon India by the British rule, of which the following deserve attention. Three important benefits of the British rule are -- (1) Prevalence of peace and tranquility, (2) the subjects are contented and happy and (3) the authorities are cherishers of the poor and dispensers of justice. Certain foreigners by wily means try to sow seeds of disaffection and ill-will against the British authority in the minds of the Indians. If a line of comparision is drawn between the old and the new state of things in India, one would find a vast difference between the two. India was in olden times an asylum for dacoits and highway robbers, but now it is an abode of peace-loving and honest men. It was formerly inhabited by Thugs and Pindaris, but to-day not a single individual belonging to those classes is to be found in India. Travelling was perilous in pre-British days, but now none can dare to glance at the property of the travellers with covetous glances. To-day a girl of tender age can travel from the Himalayas as far as Cape Comorin in pitch darkness with a purse full of rupees unobstructed. In former times the modesty of women was outraged even in broad day

light, but during the present times even immoral persons do not cast their glances on chaste women. Travelling took months and even years in the olden days, but now it is a thing of but a few hours. In olden times there were no post offices and hence correspondence between relations and friends was an impossibility, but in modern times the establishment of Post and Telegraph offices has rendered it feasible. The oephing of railways has resulted in the development of commerce and industry. If we compare the state of the British Mussalman subjects with the Mussalman subjects of Russia, we find the difference. The Russian Muhammadans cannot preach in their mosques by day and are prevented from propogating their religious literature. They are commanded to utter "Gord save the Czarwitch" during their prayers. The subjects are not safe from the hands of burglars and highway robbers. The subjects are afraid of the Cossack soldiers. No one listens to the weeping or wailings of the Mussalmans and they have no voice in public affairs.

Oh Indian Mussalmans! Are you exposed to the same misfortunes as are the Mussalmans of Russia? Thanks be to God that we have been placed under the shadow of the Britannic Empire! The British Government has rescued us from the hands of robbers and plunderers, listens to our requests, has granted us the same rights as are enjoyed by the Christians. We have a voice in public affairs. It fulfils our demands and loves us as dearly as its own co-religionists. In short, we have more comfort in India than the Mussalmans of the Turkish Empire.

Russia, on the other hand, had landed her forces in Persia to swallow it up. On an appeal by the Indian Mussalmans and those of other countries Great Britain, in spite of her alliance with Russia, advised Russia to withdraw her troops from Persia. Similarly it is hoped that England will advise Italy also to recall her troops from Tripoli.

In return for these countless favours and blessings, we can do nothing more than to pray for the continuance of British rule, and to sacrifice our lives and properties in times of peril, and to fight side by side with the British against their foes.

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Mr.Norton's speech at Kumbakonam.

26. The Swadesamitran, of the 5th April, observes:- In the course of a speech delivered at Kumbakonam recently, Mr.Norton laid stress upon the necessity of two reforms in the Indian administrative machinery viz., the payment of the salary of the Secretary of State for India from the British Exchequer and the abolition of the India Council. While the salaries of the Colonial Secretaries are paid from the British Exchequer, why should a different course be adopted in the case of India alone? The advantages of introducing the reform are twofold. Firstly, there is the saving of the amount which is now being paid from the Indian revenues. Secondly, the fact that it is paid from the British Exchequer will necessitate its inclusion in the British budget and, as every item in this budget is being regularly discussed

in the House of Commons before being passed, the Members of this assembly will have the right of commenting upon and having an effective control over the conduct of the Secretary of State for India.

Continuing its comments upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 6th April, writes:--

The second reform advocated by Mr.Norton is not also a new one. The opinion of the Indians has all along been that the existence of a council for the Secretary of State for India does more harm than good to the political advancement of this country. As early as 1885 the Congress demanded the abolotion of this Council. As it is, the Members of this Council are mostly retired Anglo-Indians, and, with their confirmed prejudices and aversion to popular rights, they cannot be expected to do much good to us. Then again, in many important matters, the Secretary of State does not strictly follow the advice of his Council, as the rules themselves provide that he can act independently and that he is responsible only to the Parliament and not to his Council or India. Thus, practically this India Council serves no useful purpose as far as India is concerened. Add to all this, the opinions of the Members of this Council regarding India and its affairs are bound to be out of date and as such cannot be useful in tackling with the present problems. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils in India affords another ground for the abolition of the India Council. Hereafter the tendency will be for these Legislative Councils to take up the responsibility of the Indian administration, step by step and there will be no necessity at all for the continuance of the council of

India. If this Council is abolished and if the salaries of the Secretary of State for India and his staff are paid from the British Exchequer, the annual gain to India will be about 25 lakhs of rupees.

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No.17 Of 1912.

For the week ending 20th April, 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

4. The Indian Patriot, of the 18th April, writes:--

The Tinnevelly conspiracy case.

"Judgment was delivered yesterday by the Judges who constituted the Full Bench to hear and decide the points of law raised in the certificate of the Advocate-General. All the five Judges had separate judgments to deliver. Justices Benson Wallis and Miller agreed with the majority of the Special Tribunal on the points essential to the conviction of the accused, acquitted by Mr.Justice Sankaran Nair,................ With reference to the admissibility of confessional statements of approvers, Mr.Justice Wallis differed from the special tribunal. This, however, did not affect the case. Mr.Justice Miller concurred with Mr. Justice Wallis. In the result, all the accused, acquitted by Mr.Justice Sankaran Nair, are convicted by a majority of the Full Bench.

"Mr.Justice Abdur Rahim and Mr.Justice Sundara Aiyar differ from the majority.................It remains to be seen whether there is going to be an appeal to the Privy Council from the decision of the Full Bench. We consider such an appeal is very necessary. The result in the particular case is of very little importance, but the interpretation of the law which has led to it is of too serious a nature to be accepted without an appeal to the highest authority".

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~~12.~~ IV.--NATIVE STATES.

The Native States of India.

12. In a leader on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 17th April, writes:--"The recent Hoti Mardan and Kashmir incidents have once again brought prominently to the front the question how far the Paramount Power would be justified in interfering with Native States. So far as these incidents are concerned, there was no justification for the Police to drag the Hoti Mardan Chief to Bombay on a trumped up but serious charge, and the Kashmir embroglio could very well have been avoided. Incidents of the kind are, however, isolated and rare, but they tend to incite the public to undesirable discussion of the affairs of Native States and to bring a deal of odium to the Paramount Power.................In large Native States, except in Mysore, the Resident is a sort of Ambassador, and he is expected not to meddle with the administration. But in recent times, the tendency has been for the Resident to poke his nose into the

administration. There is what may be called moral justification for the Resident to interfere when gross administrative evils are perpetrated, when the Chiefs violate the liberty of the subject and squander away the resources of the State. It would be culpable were the Resident not to interfere in these matters, and sharply pull back the Chief. Interference must, however, stop short here. En passant, the Resident is all-powerful in Mysore............With less interference our Native states may be expected to progress and advance. The majority of them have given remarkable evidence of their capacity for improvement of their having given up old world and crude ideas of administration which have so long retarded progress."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

Anglo-Indians.

28. The Andhraprakasika, of the 13th April, learns that in the House of Lords the Secretary of State for India has stated that if the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi were announced earlier than the date of the Delhi Durbar, certain Anglo-Indian papers in Calcutta would have created great commotion and made themselves liable to be punished under the new Press Act. It appears, says the paper that the Anglo-Indian editors of newspapers in Calcutta have

made up their minds to protest against that statement. Perhaps they think that the Press Act does not apply to them, and that they are altogether above its provisions. While at the time of passing it, the Indian organs of public opinion endeavoured their very best to see it was not passed, the Anglo-Indian papers ranged themselves on the opposite side and gave it their entire support. A feeling of racial differences has been at the bottom of the whole affair and this feeling says the paper, has been in evidence not only in the case of the press, but also in railway compartments, etc. This attitude of the Anglo-Indians towards the Indians has been the cause of many a hardship to the people. The paper remarks in conclusion that though the all-powerful rulers of the country have deprecated such differences, it is an irony of fate that certain others are running counter to the wishes of Government.

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29. The Desabhimani, of the 9th April, has the following leader in its English Columns:--

Mr. Montagu at Cambridge.

Turning to India, Lord Morley's Indian Council's Act was regarded by the Conservative leaders as a leap in th
Similarly the Durbar announcements were a
to the prestige of the Government accord
Conservative opinion. The watchword of
Government is prestige. But Mr. Monta
India, how much happier would have b

if that word had been left out of the English vocabulary! We are not there to repair evil, amend injustice, to profit by experience, we must abide by our mistakes, continue to outrage popular opinion, simply for the sake of being able to say I have said what I have said', Lord Curzon is full of wrath, because prestige is not kept up and his policy is reversed, without consulting him. The partition was annulled without consultation of public opinion. This charge coming as it does from a highly autocratic Viceroy appears ridiculous on its face. The whole Indian opinion was flouted by Lord Curzon. He not only not consulted anybody in passing such unpopular measure but even refused to give audience to a member of Parliament Sir Henry Cotton to represent the injustice of the partition. Such a charge proceeding from him he received the well-merited rebuke from the Prime Minister, who said, What Lord Curzon might do, in Lord Curzon's opinion, His Majesty the King ought not to do (Laughter and applause)'. Mr. Montagu said that Lord Curzon had no policy in fact, but he was a mere chauffer, who spent his time in polishing up the machinery, screwing every nut and bolt of his car ready to make it go, but he never drove it; he did not know where to drive it to.' There are many interesting portions of his speech which we cannot dwell upon in this short article. He distinguished the Imperial ideal of Liberals and Conservatives. The latter, as we showed previously-writing about Imperialism and Imperial Federation' regarded the subject-nations as fit only to be used for the benefit of the rulers. But according to the Liberals as stated by Mr.Montagu, 'the Imperial ideal is one of spreading throughout the empire free instit[illegible] all that is meant by the wonderful word

30. The Desabhimani, of the 4th April, has the following in English:--

India's political ideal.

"The whole course of Indian politics has taken a new turn in the last six years. A new spirit has pervaded the eastern world. The east has awakened from its long slumber. The success of an oriental nation against a European foe has given fresh hopes in oriental minds. The East is no longer a fit place for the ambition and aggression of the West. India too shared the new spirit It grew dissatisfied with the work of the old leaders of the Congress. The educated Indians demanded a thorough change in the work of the Congress. The acts of an unsympathetic Viceroy, who flouted the educated opinion to its utmost degree, helped to bring the old Congress movement into disfavour with the people. A party arose, namely, the nationalist party, who demanded that the Congress should adopt a high ideal compatible with law and order to concentrate the efforts of the Congress to ultimately reach the ideal; and the Congress held at Calcutta in the year 1906 under the revered presidency of the Grand Old Man of India adopted the ideal. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Then followed a series of repressions by the executive, rigorous laws were passed restricting the freedom of speech and press. Political life became no longer a bed of roses. It was no longer a stepping stone to recognition. Those styled leaders had to suffer in their person for the advancement of the country. Even the

liberal Secretary of State Lord Morley say nothing but fanaticism in the Indian ideal. No ideal is required for Indians. They will not be fit for a system of Parliamentary Government as far as his imagination went, but only for benevolent despotism.

"But happily the times have changed. The rulers have recognised that the people's ideals must not be ignored, and that they should govern with a high ideals must not be ignored, and that they should govern with a high ideal in view. His Majesty's visit was the glorious occasion of announcing a great policy and reversing an administrative blunder. The ideal is laid out in the famous despatch of the Governor-~~xxxxxx~~ General. It was to constitute the whole country into autonomous units, controlled by the Imperial Government to prevent maladministration. This ideal leads to the ideal of Colonial self-government, which is dearly cherished by the majority of the educated Indians. Mr.Montagu, the Under Secretary of State, in a masterly speech at at Cambridge recognised this aspect of the Indian problem and spoke of Babu Bipin Chandra Pal's ideal of Swaraj in the following terms:-- Mr.Bipin Chandra Pal's ideal of Swaraj in the following terms:--

"Mr.Bipin Chandra Pal has drawn up and published a full, frank, detailed exposition of the exact form of Swaraj ~~inxthexfollowingxtermsxxxxxMrx~~ or as may be roughly translated Colonial self-government, that they want............At last and not too soon a Viceroy had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which we propose to advance.' Indeed the nationalist is not an aiml[illegible]s agitator seeking the overthrow of the British [illegible]ment. We

are glad that the highest authority has recognised the justice of Indian's demand and we hope the present Liberal Government will steadily follow the noble ideal stated in the despatch."

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32. Reviewing the present situationsim in India, the Sadhvi, of the 16th April, writes:--

The situation in India.

The immense strides made by the principle of Republican Government all the world over during the last few years has greatly struck the people of India. They show a natural eagerness to know and study this new form of Government. They have begun to desire for a like Government for their own country. The British Government on their side will be ready to grant us full local autonomy if only we show ourselves fit for it. The introduction of Municipal Government, and more recently still, the inauguration of the Council Reforms bear incontestable testimony to this sympathetic attitude of the Government. Some hold that because Ireland, in spite of a struggle for two hundred years, has not succeeded in obtaining Home Rule, India's hope of autonomy is ever destined to remain a mere dream. But we do not think this opinion is a well-informed one. Ireland has a population of only thirty lakhs(sic) whereas India contains thirty crores. If the Indians will only acquire that unity and passion for representative Government which characterise the Irish people, there is no doubt that full local autonomy will be ours. There is ample evidence to

to prove that the British Government are in full sympathy with our aspirations, and that they are ready to satisfy them as soon as we are ripe for the form of Government for which we are now striving.

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No. 18 Of 1912.

For the week ending 27th April 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

12. The Indian Patriot, of the 26th April, writes:--

Lord Minto on the Reforms in India.

It is of interest to know Lord Minto's views on the reforms, with which is name is so conspicuously connected, especially when his views are different from those with which he has been popularly associated. In the great work of reform accomplished in his time the universal impression has been that Lord Morely and himself were in complete agreement. But from the meagre summary of his speech on Sir William Plowden's lecture, telegraphed to-day, it appears that Lord Minto's mind did not run fully with Lord Morley's..............With regard to the appointment of Indian members to the Executive Council also we agree with Lord Minto that an Indian is not to be appointed merely because he is an Indian; and Indians themselves cannot consider it a great gain if an incompetent man is put in as their type. But here again there is a practical difficulty.

If there is a rule or custom that an Indian should be a member of the Ex. council a competent Indian will always be found. But if there is no such rule or custom, the existence of competent Indians itself may be denied.... ....If the choice is left to appoint or not appoint an Indian, there will be nothing to prevent the authorities in India from saying that there is no competent Indian available..............We are not certainly for any distinction of race or creed in regard to any appointment. And we would welcome the complete effacement of such a distinction, and go strictly according to ability and efficiency; for then we need not be content with one Indian member, but may have two or more..............The advancement of Indians to high offices must proceed in an increasing degree. What we want is not that a certain number of appointments should be held by Indians, but that Indians should not be debarred from any appointment on the score of race. They must rise according to merit, and not for their race...........Lord Minto, we are glad to find, expressed himself strongly in favour of Commissions in the army being given to well-born Indians. It is on account of their race that they have been denied the privilege, and the race disqualificatinn must disappear in everything.............We are all for efficiency, and not for race; but the field must be open before efficiency can be displayed. In the Army efficiency is all important. An army cannot be constituted of representatives of races. It must be fit for war and defence. Let any test be tried; but let there be no test of race."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

21. The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd April, writes:--

The stability of the British Government in India.

One professor Vejener, who followed the Crown Prince of Germany to India some years ago, is reported to have stated recently that it was a wrong impression entertained by some of the Germans that it would be good for Germany if the British rule in India came to grief and that, in the interests of western civilisation and influence, it behoved all the whites to stand together to maintain the stability of the British Government in India. We do not know how the idea got into the head of this gentlemen that there was any danger to British rule in India. On the other hand, there are signs to show that this rule is bound to become permanent in this country. India could never have harboured the thought of cutting away from England and even if there had been any such idea the reforms of Lord Morley and the Emperor's visit to India should have put an end to it altogether. The British Government is now being conducted in such a manner as to drive away from the minds of the Indians the feeling that it is a Foreign Government. India is making fast progress in the direction of attaining swaraj on colonial lines and this is encouraged by the British Parliament and statesmen. As India's future greatness depends upon the continuity of the British rule in India, there is not a shadow of a chance of this rule coming to grief.

NO. 19 OF 1912.

For the week ending 4th May 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Home Rule Bill for Ireland.

1. In referring to the introduction of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons, the

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Racial difficulties in South Africa.

2. In a leading article on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 2nd May, writes:--

A Reuter telegram says that a number of outrages on white women are reported to have taken place in Johannesburg and Natal and that there has been a revival of the blackperil outcry..... ....Almost all civilised people, and most uncivilised men too, care greatly for the honour and safety of their women. Any outrage to their honour or injury to their person creates a sense of deep resentment, which is heightened when the offender belongs to an alien or an inferior race. In the case of the whites in South Africa there are all the elements which make a whole people nervous in a matter of this kind. There is the sense of insecurity arising out of their inferiority in point of numbers when compared with the native population. There is the sense, partly based on facts and partly fictitious, of the great superiority of

of the whites over the natives. ....All real power being in the hands of the whites it is not surprising that they should proceed to legislate and punish in a panic. Hence the motion in the Transvaal Senate that hanging should be minimum penalty for such outrages..............Severe punishments are undoubtedly necessary to prevent outrages of this kind. But the most effective way of dealing with them is one, which there are no indications would be acceptable to the mass of the white population. This is to place outrages on all women, whether white or black, on the same footing and to make no difference in the treatment of the offender on the score of the colour of his skin. ....But will the whites adopt it? It does not seem likely that the great majority of them will do, so, and what is not acceptable to the majority has, of course, no chance of being put into practice......

The native races of South Africa cannot all be classed among the hopelessly inferior races. Some of them have qualities by no means despicable. Education is spreading among them and education is a powerful lever. Moreover, there is a cry, though generally discreetly stifled, of Africa for the Africans, and the African clergy are among its most zealous propogandists.............

One of the objects of the 'White League' is to work for a safe and final solution to the native question by showing due consideration to the interests of the white residents, while not opposing any reasonable demands by the native races.................The Secretary of the

League in introducing it to the public emphasises the importance of retaining the social barriers which have hitherto prevented the subject races from mixing with the whites in railway carriages, theatres, bioscopes, etc.,' and further says that 'the people of South Africa cannot accept such a policy as is being pursued by the British Government in India and Egypt--the policy of scuttle.' To work on these lines for a safe and final solution to the native question' seems to us as profitable as attempting to square the circle."

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

~~(a) General.~~

(b) Courts.

The Tinnevelly conspiracy case.

3. Referring to the judgments delivered by the five High Court Judges, who constituted the special ~~branch~~ bench, to decide the points of law raised by the Advocate-General in this case, the Weekly Chronicle, of the 21st April, says:--"The Majority of the Full Bench agreed with the majority of the special Tribunal; but Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, in an able and learned judgment upheld the view of law set forth by Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair. Mr. Justice Sundra Aiyar also agreed with Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair on some of the important points of law but, in his conclusion on the whole case, agreed with the majority in holding that conviction upon the uncorroborated testimony [illegible] accomplice is not illegal. The views e[illegible]
Messrs. Justice Sankaran Nair and [illegible]

appeal to common sense and are strongly supported both by the English and the Indian practice having the force of law. In a country like India, it is rather unsafe to act upon the uncorroborated statement of an accomplice. So long as this Full Bench decision remains in force, no accused in this Presidency as such is safe if there is the evidence of an accomplice against him. Since this decision of the majority has a far-reaching consequence on the criminal administration in South India, the matter ought to be taken up to the Privy Council and a ruling obtained from that Tribunal".

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Justice and political trials.

4. In commenting on the article which appeared in the London Times recently on the Administration of Justice in India, in which reference is made to the disposal of political cases, the Hindu, of the 29th April, remarks:--"The subject broached by the Times has a natural relation to the case disposed of recently by the Madras High Court, commonly called the Ashe Murder case................The result of thi[s] case has been a great disappointment to the public. It has failed to bring to justice those who may hav[e] actively assisted the principal culprit in the murder of Mr.Ashe, and as regards the points of [...] involved, it has disclosed a diversity of opini[...] the Judges which will not conduce to strengthe[n] [...] confidence of the public in the Judicial acum[en of] our Judges. As regards the facts of the ca[se ...] dissenting judgment of Mr.Justice Sankaran [...] not only an account of those matters dis[...]

in the evidence which bear directly upon the charges against the accused, but it also contains an interesting narration of various events which took place in Southern India leading up to the conspiracy among the accused. It throws a valuable side light upon the working of the popular mind and upon the economic and political aspects of the swadeshi movement, and we commend it to the careful study of the Government, as the conclusions formed in it rest upon facts judicially investigated..................There seems no doubt that the prosecution had greatly over-estimated the nature of the conspiracy and had given to it an importance and gravity which the circumstances did not justify."

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(k) General.

Indians and the Public Services.

7. The weekly Chronicle, of the 28th April, writes:--

"We have been looking up to the Proclamation of Queen Victoria as the greatest Charter of our rights; and, in recent times, His Majesty the late King-Emperor and His Majesty the present King-Emperor and responsible statesmen like Lord Morley have all renewed that Charter and have given fresh assurances of equality of treatment and equality of opportunity. And ye[...] there are rules and regulations lingering, whi[...] a distinction between Indian and European. [...] it was announced that the major portion [...]

appointments of Engineers to the Indian Public Works Department could be applied for only by candidates of European descent, and some days back a statement was made in the House of Commons, of course upon the strength of precedent, that as regards the appointments of Assistant Superintendents of Police and Deputy Superintendents of Police, the former by regulation are reserved for men of European descent. Has not the time come for the Congress and its constitutent bodies and the press to make a vigorous efforts to get this irritating and unjust distinction abolished?"

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The Full Bench decision in the Ashe murder case.

15. A leader in the Kerala Sanchari, of the 24th April referring to the recent Full Bench decision on the revision petition of the accused in "the Ashe murder case", says that even in England there are differences of opinion about the admission of the evidence of an accomplice. It is said that it is an immemorial custom in England not to accept the evidence of an accomplice unless it is corroborated. Where is any safety for those unfortunate accused if the uncorroborated evidence of an accomplice who has been under Police surveillance at the time of the inv[illegible]gation of the case be accepted.

So long as this Full Bench decision remains unaltered there will be no protection for those who may be accused of any criminal offence in this Presidency. Mr.Justice Benson held that though Inspector Veeraraghava Aiyar was not a local police officer yet he, in his capacity as a member of the Criminal Intelligence Department, could investigate cases in any part of the Presidency. The paper considers this Full Bench decision is deservint to be brought before the Privy Council.

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No.20 Of 1912.

For the Week ending 11th May, 1912.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

9. The Kistnapatrika, of the 3rd May, writes as follows:--

East Africa.

The disabilities of the Indians in the Colonies are on the increase day by day. They feel their life a burden on account of the selfishness and jealousy of the white races. Although they are citizens of the British Empire, they find it difficult to safeguard their interests. In East Africa, the [illegible] are not only

British subjects, but they went there before the Europeans, and made the country prosperous. If the representations of the Indians in South Africa are reasonable, much more reasonable must be the representations of the Indians in East Africa. The Government of East Africa are enacting a law to enable them to levy poll-tax on all immigrants. The poor as well as the rich will each have to pay thereunder one pound per annum. This is really a hardship to the Indians. There are 2,000 white men here, all of whom are high-paid officials. But most of the Indians in East Africa, who number 25,000 in all, are poor coolies. They will have to pay like the European officials Rs.15 each on the 1st of April every year. This is very improper. Like South Africa, East Africa is not a self-governing colony! It is a Crown Colony like Ceylon. The British might not have any power to redress the grievances of the South African Indians. But there is no room for such excuse in the case of East Africa.

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NO. 21 OF 1912.

For the Week ending 18th May 1912.

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ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION

(b) General.

The Nicholson Commission.

4. The Wednesday Review, of the 15th May, has the following further remarks on this subject:-- "The object of the committee is by no means dissimilar to that of the committee over which Sir Ashley Eden presided and their report is an excellent statement of the military needs and requirements of the country and the minute of Lord Lytton thereon may be read still as an eloquent plea for reform and retrenchment, no less for its literary style. We can understand departmental committees keeping their reports secret, but this is not a departmental committee in any sense and Sir William Nicholson is not a member of the Indian Government. The attempt to keep the report secret only confirms the suspicion that it is a device of the War Office to throw some more burden on the Indian tax-payer. If that is so, that is a most dangerous thing to do just now and it is a matter of urgent importance that our friends in England should agitate during the budget debate for [illegible] report of the committee being made public. There [illegible] a grave responsibility lying on the shoulders [illegible] public men and organisations to move in the [illegible]

press for information in regard to the scope of the committee. Our contemporary of the Englishman recently pointed out that the committee might as well increase the burden as reduce it according to the terms or reference. Is that the object of the committee then?

"We venture to think that some definite questions must be put to the committee with a view to eliciting definite answers. It is true that Sir William Nicholson disapproves of Lord Kitchener's reforms and is a re-arrangement of the reorganization scheme contemplated. It is not yet five years since Lord Kitchener resigned and where is the need for enquiring into the question whether the army is efficient? Have our military needs and requirements undergone any modification to an extent that warrants the reconsideration of the reforms' initiated by seven years of Lord Kitchener's tenure? Is it contemplated to withdraw the massed troops from the northwest and keep them in the north-east with a view to any possible contingencies that may arise in that quarter?.........We wonder if Lord Kitchener will be consulted in the Nicholson scheme, but he has powerful supporters in the India Office and the British Press and we imagine they will now come forward to protest against any interference with his scheme. We trust that the Government of India will take the public in their confidence and try to remove any misapprehension that may arise in the public mind with regard to the scope and limits--we mean the ulterior object--of the Committ

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

Higher Appointments for Indians.

19. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th May, comments as follows on the resolution passed at the Provincial Conference recently held at Kumbakonam regarding the employment of Indians in Government service. According to this resolution, if the distinction between the Imperial and Provincial services is to continue, competitive examinations should be held in the provinces for employment in Provincial service; a fourth of the vacancies occurring every year should be reserved for the promotion of the subordinate officers; one half of the number of District Judges, one of the Under Secretaries and one-third of the number of District Magistrates should be members of the Provincial service; and one Member of the Board of Revenue and of the Government Secretaries should be selected from among the Indians. These appointments are not now open to members of the Provincial service, but are given only to Englishmen on the ground that competent Indians are not available. As it is now settled that one of the Members of the Executive Council should be an Indian and as it is not always possible to secure a vakil for this place, it is necessary to appoint an Indian as a Member of the Board of Revenue and one as a Government Secretary so that they may acquire the

necessary experience and status. Now there are only four District Judges and two District Magistrates. We trust that there will be in the near future an inquiry for giving Indians higher appointments. The present system was introduced about 25 years ago, and during this time the Indians have much improved in their education and capacity. There are also many who have ~~much improved in their~~ received education in foreign countries. These are in no way inferior to Englishmen in education and capacity and they have also experience of the western countries. Therefore, it is not in the least correct to say that the Indians are not competent; and this has been acknowledged by eminent men like Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge. The British statesmen are bound to see that the Acts of the Parliament and the assurances of the Queen-Empress and the two King-Emperors, that education and competency and no racial distinction are the only recommendations for every appointment, are not rendered ineffective.

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NO. 22 OF 1912.

For the week ending 25th May 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

12. The Muhammadan, of the 16th May, writes:--

The Under Secretary of State and Indian Muhammadans.

"We learn that the Bengal Presidency Muslim League has entered an emphatic resolution of protest on Sunday last against the unjustifiable aspersions of Mr. Montague has cast on the Indian Muhammadan community. The position of Mr. Montague is not for a moment tenable. We have often enough insisted on the absurdity of appointing to such responsible places as Secretary of State and Under Secretary of State to India, men who have no knowledge of India, its people and its place in the Empire..............The average Englishman takes as much interest in the Indian and his political and social problems as much as we take in the black man of Timbuctoo or the brown man of the Hawaii. Times out of number we have heard that whenever Indian questions were discussed in Parliament the gallery is vacant the House is empty...........Half the misfortunes to India arise from the Secretary and Under Secretary's ignorance of India and Indian conditions. What grosser misstatements can have been made and that in the greatest Senate in the world than the one made by the Under Secretary......................The Muhammadans in India are united. The Musl[illegible] League is the

sign and symbol of their united nationality. Again 'it has never been the policy of the British Government to construct a province for the benefit of one race or religion.' Who on earth wanted Mr.Montague to construct one province for Muhammandans. No wonder that such a cloudy knowledge exists in England about India when such abominable statements drop from the lips of no less an authority on India than its Under Secretary of State".

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~~VERNACULAR PAPERS.~~

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NO. 23 OF 1912.

For the week ending 1st June 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Lord Crewe and the Press Act.

4. The Hindu of the 29th May, has the following:-- The reply of Lord Crewe to the protest of the Calcutta Anglo-Indian press made through the Institute of Journalists, protesting against His Lordship's statement in the House of Lords on the 21st February, has apparently been found unpalatable by those whose unwise and reactionary counsels were chiefly

instrumental in enacting Press Act. The fond belief that they would always secure in the good graces of the Government and the Act was never intended for them, is now shown to be a misapprehension with the consequence that the dangers of the Act have come to be realised by them for the first time, and we only hope it will lead to their co-operating with the Indian press and public in getting the Act repealed."

In discussing this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 30th May, remarks:-- "There has been a slight flutter in the dovecots of the Anglo-Indian press at Calcutta, over a statement which Lord Crewe made the other day when he explained why he did not publish beforehand the proposals for the re-partition of Bengal and the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi............His Lordship disclosed an acquaintance with the methods of criticism employed by the more irresponsible section of the Anglo-Indian press, which even the Government of India have failed to disclose and should therefore have been congratulated on his native shrewdness...............We should have expected that, knowing their own foibles and weakness, which have even reached the ears of a Radical Secretary of State six thousand miles away, the Anglo-Indian press would have thanked him for not creating an unpleasant situation for them. But they seem to be a particularly queer people in Calcutta and the Institute of Journalists--of whose activity not much is heard outside of Calcutta--sent a prompt protest and sought the help of the British press............Even Lord Minto was appealed, to,

as the author of the Press Act of 1910, to say if Lord Crewe's statement did not cast a slur upon them. One would indeed be less than human and more imperfect than he is, if when a body of men who, during five years of troublous regime, gave him their uninstinted support in all that he did or failed to do asked for his sympathy, he refused to give it, and Lord Minto, as a high-souled Englishman that he is, expressed his sympathy with them. Armed with this, these Calcutta journalists would seem to have been cutting papers and Lord Crewe, therefore, made a timely intervention not only to vindicate his own statement, but also to remind these elated critics that they have more than a match in him..............Even if the Anglo-Indian press were incapable of sedition, certainly it is capable of creating bitterness and hostility and hatred' towards the allies of the Government, and towards any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India.'....................The Anglo-Indian papers who have been by sufferance not only besmirching the people, but indulging in strong criticism, seem to think that they are above law and that no penal provisions can be enforced against them. They helped to pickle the rod with which their backs are now threatened. They little thought that a Secretary of State would come up who would disillusion them of their fond beliefs and, thanks to Lord Crewe, they are now awake. The Empire advises the Anglo-Indian journalists, who have till now been burying their heads like the proverbial ostrich under the sand, to rise to a true conception of their danger, join hands with their colleagues of the Indian press and press for the repeal of the Act. We, for our own part, would only be too

glad to receive the prodigal son and kill for him the fat calf too."

The Indian Patriot, of the 20th May, says:--

"The Anglo-Indian section of the Calcutta Press was amazed beyond measure at the suggestion made by Lord Crewe of the possible application of the Press Act to it. It was shocked at a Minister of the Crown speaking of such a possibility. But Lord Crewe is not at all perturbed by the protest that went forth from Calcutta. He adheres to the view he expressed, and says that the general character of a newspaper cannot exempt it from the penalties of the Press Act if it offends against it. There can be no doubt that some of the Anglo-Indian papers of Calcutta might have used more restrained language in criticising the Durbar announcements. This was obvious to all. It cannot be suggested these journals are seditious or could be seditious in the sense sedition is understood in England. But the Indian law of sedition, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, is quite different; and the Press Act includes more things than are indicated in section 124-A of the Penal Code. Under the Indian law some of the more violent critics of the Durbar changes made themselves liable, and on other occasions also they have not always steered clear of either section 124 or section 153-A. Their great security has been that a prosecution could not be launched except by the Government; and Government is ordinarily very forbearing, more so in the case of Anglo-Indian journals..........

They have now realised that the danger of the Press Act is common to the entire Press of India; and the Empire prides itself on the fact that, alone of all Anglo-Indian papers in Calcutta, it stood forth against the Press Act. It now urges a combination between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian Press to secure the repeal of the Press Act; and the Indian newspapers are perfectly agreeable to the proposal. But the time is not particularly opportune; for the attempt will be made by reason of an immediate cause which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State and presumably in the opinion of the Government of India, was sufficient to justify the application of the Act. A special necessity for the existence of the Press Act was shown by the violent criticisms of the Durbar changes. Such criticisms, the authorities seem to hold, are not permissible and the Press Act puts in their hands the means to prevent them............If they make the warning of the Secretary of State the sole ground for their demand, they are more likely to be told that they themselves have furnished the justification for the existence of the Act'.

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

5. The Muhammadan, of the 20th May, writes:--

The Under Secretary of state and Indian Muhammadans.

"We publish elsewhere the resolution of the Madras Presidency Muslim League on the incident agitating the Muhammadan public for some weeks past. Mr.Montague in a peculiarly undignified speech on the second reading of the Government of India Bill threw gratuitous insults on the Muhammadan community. Our only regret is that the Madras Presidency Muslim League was so slow in taking steps to bring to the notice of the Government the state of the feeling of the southern Muhammadans on the subject................ Mr.Montagu seems to be quite ignorant of Indian history. A statesman ignorant of India and its history to be one of its chief officers. ~~The Government of India and its history to be one of its chief officers.~~ The Government of India and the Secretary of State have been approached on the subject. We expect justice, as British sense of justice and fairplay will recoil at these insulting words..............Mr. Montague shoud have thought twice before he dared to insult a great community. We do not appeal to His Majesty's Government so much against this uncalled for remark of Mr. Montagu as against the present system obtaining in England of appointing any person to the responsible position of Secretary or Under Secretary to Government,

provided he has been a successful party politician. He might be steeped in ignorance about India to the tip of his nose but that is a small affair. Mr.Montagu if called upon by His Majesty's Government is ready to make an unreserved and unqualified apology; but that would not mend matters till a radical remedy is applied to this chronic disorder in English public life.2

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Racial differences in South Africa.

7. The Desamata, of the 22nd May, states that it appears from a telegram by Reuter that the natives in Johannesburg and Natal in South Africa are outraging the honour of European women. A similar complaint was made once before this, but it was found to be exaggerated. The paper says that it does not mean by this that the rumour is false. No doubt great indignation naturally prevails whenever the honour of women is endangered. This is especially so when the culprit belongs to a different race. But every race on the face of the earth is guilty ofx such outrages, and a guilty person, to whatever race he may belong, deserves to be punished. But it is proposed in the Transvaal Senate that such outrages ought to be punished with death. The paper says that it does not find fault with the white races who are very much devoted to their womenkind to have proposed such a punishment. Those who have authority in their hands can enact any

law. But the law, says the paper, should be made to apply to anybody who is guilty of the offence of outraging the modesty of a woman, to whatever race he may belong. Only then will the sense of justice of the white races be evident, and the people will be satisfied and no more outrages will take place. But the paper doubts whether the white races in South Africa will administer justice to all alike. Unless they do so, there is no hope, it says, of the two races coming together in brotherly love and living happily.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The Calcutta Police torture case.

8. Referring to the sentence passed by Sir Lawrence Jenkins on the accused in the recent Police torture case in the Calcutta High Court in which a European Sub-Inspector and two head constables and a constable were charged with causing hurt to a man for the purpose of extorting a confession in a theft case, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th May, observes:--

Whenever there arises any question about the Police, the Government always supports them. It is said that, according to the recommendations of e Police Commission, the India Government has ganised the Police department by appointing Europ to the higher offices, and educated Indians to t subordinate offices and by increasing the pay of the

constables; and that as a result of this the department is now manned by competent persons. The Anglo-Indian press simply echoes this opinion when it supports the Police. It may be safely asserted that not even one out of a hundred of the cases in which the Police are really guilty, comes up to the Court. That such a torture should have been committed in an important city like Calcutta shows to what extent the Police can pursue their daring methods. It should not be forgotten that in this case the superior Police officers did not at all admit having noticed the wounds on the person of the injured person. It is wrong to suppose that the whole department has been set right merely because the higher officers are Europeans. It is easy to dupe European Officers, but not an educated Indian. Seeing that some of the Anglo-Indian papers have adversely commented upon this case and that there are many similar cases which rarely come before the Court, it is much to be regretted that Mr.Basu's resolution regarding the Police reform has not been passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. We hope that the Government will undertake legislation at an early date to improve the tone of this department by instituting a fresh inquiry or otherwise.

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NO. 24 OF 1912.

For the week ending 8th June 1912.

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ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

9. The Wednesday Review, of the 29th May, says:--

Lord Crewe and the Press Act.

"If the Press Act is not to be a mockery, its provisions must apply equally to the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Press, and no section of it can claim immunity from the application of the Press Act if its provisions are transgressed in any particular. The general views and sympathies of an individual newspaper may mitigate its offence to some extent, if it was unwittingly committed, but it is unreasonable to contend that a general exemption from the operation of the Press Act must be granted to a particular section of the Press, because of its general attitude towards the Government and its views on Indian politics. Even supposing that there is a broad line dividing the Anglo-Indian from the Indian section of the Press in respect of politics, which we entirely deny, it does not at all follow that the one should be allowed a greater latitude in its criticisms of all other matters, than the other. The claim put forward by some of our contemporaries is no doubt due, as Lord Crewe explains, to a misapprehension regarding the scope and purposes of the Indian Press Act which are not confined to the suppression of sedition and treasonable conspiracy."

10. The Hindu, of the 4th June, has the following:--

The Government of Bombay and the Kesari.

"More particulars regarding the security of Rs.5,000 demanded of Mr.N.C.Kelkar, editor and publisher of the Kesari, by the Government of Bombay are to be found in the leading article in the latest issue of the Maharatta, extracts from which are reproduced elsewhere. The Mahratta traces the story of the relations of Government with these two papers in a sober, but brilliant fashion, into the details of which and of the immediate cause of the latest development, we shall not enter at present. The writings in respect of which objection has been taken are two, of which the first is the reprint of a passage which appeared in the Kesari thirty years ago, and the second is a letter written to the paper by a political prisoner who had recently come out of the jail. The Mahratta, as will be seen, meets the position taken by the Government on the merits fully and in a dignified manner. It is surprising and it does little to enhance Sir George Clarke's political sagacity--that this serious step should have been taken with so little justification, at a time when political troubles have almost all disappeared and when it were unwise and ungenerous to return to the ways of the pre-reform days."

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VI.--MISCELLANEOUS.

Indian students in England.

15. The Madras Standard, of the 31st May, observes:--

"A Reuter's telegram makes the announcement of the appointment of a committee by Lord Crewe, consisting of Sir Theodore Morison, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr.Reynolds and Principal Dalby, to enquire into the facilities available to Indian students for industrial and technological training in England. It will be remembered that Sir Theodore Morison complained a few months ago about the unwillingness of British manufacturers to admit Indian students as apprentices and pointed out the grave danger of turning these youths to the Continent or America for their training. For some time past the complaint has been very insistent that British manufacturers give a cold shoulder to the Indian youths who go to them for industrial training and they have been therefore compelled to go to Germany or America for the same. It will be interesting to take an account of the students who have drifted away from England. When these students come back to India they not only carry with them pleasant recollections of their association with these foreign nations, but also considerable prejudice against the English people. That is a grave source of danger and menace to the British Empire. Lord Crewe has therefore taken an excellent, though belated step, in enquiring into the condition of Indian students receiving technical learning in England.............Of course an investigation of the facilities in England for scholars is not all that the Government is bound to do. Equally important and onerous is the duty of investigating the difficulties of meeting scholars on returning to India. We are

glad that the present enquiry is regarded only as a preliminary to a full examination of the system by the Government of India."

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19. In writing on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 5th June, says:--"It is trite learning that the Indian National Congress, when it was organised and founded in the eighties, was railed at as a mere mock-show. It needed the past quarter of a century to convince the confirmed sceptics as to the utility of such organisations, that our national assembly was not a hollow assemblage of loquacious baboos but was a real factor in the growth of our political life. By gradual and progressive study we have developed many organisations which serve as important helpmates to this parent gathering. But it is to be very much regretted that save for the sporadic outbursts of enthisiasm towards the fag-end of every year the existence of these organisations dwindles into mere historical facts............Our reformed Councils are yet in their experimental stage but indiscriminately recruited at present and we are not prepared to say that we have attained our political salvation by the small slice of concession allowed us by our benign Government. It is only when the constituents of our representative assemblies are instructed in their responsibilities and duties that we can expect any intelligent choice by them; and so long as our masses are steeped in ignorance

Political life in India.

and in consequence struck dumb it is our duty to concert measures for securing real popular representation. This can be secured only by the formation of associations in every village, taluk, and district at which the wants of the people may be freely ventilated and discussed... . The page of our national history devoted to politics is but opened once a year and throughout the rest of the year there is a lull almost verging on death. The consequence is a sort of pulling together at the eleventh hour and a perfunctory performance of our public duties. We have to keep before our people all through the year the ideal which we are seeking and to educate them in the methods we propose to employ. To leave the people the meagre satisfaction of resolutions in print the outpourings of eloquence as a three-days-wonder and then to consign the whole subject into the limbo of oblivion is little better than bungling in politics and this should be eradicated without any delay".

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21. The Indian Patriot, of the 6th June, writes as follows:--

The depressed classes. "At the anniversary meeting of the Depressed Classes Society at Shiyali, Mr. Yakub Hassan, Secretary of the Madras Muslim League, speaking as a Muhammadan, twitted both Christianity and Hinduism for their failings in respect of their treatment of lower orders..........Christian Missionaries have never been content with converting people. They endeavoured to improve the state of the converts. They provided for them education and pursuits, and helped to improve their material condition.

The influence of Muhammadanism on the lower orders has not been of the same enlightening character as that of Christian Missionaries. While Christian converts have advanced in enducation, Muhammadan converts have remained in ignorance. Nor can it be said that the habits of life among lower class Muhammadans have improved by their conversion to the new faith. Christian Missionaries, on the other hand, as Mr.Yakub Hassan admits, has raised the converts to a higher plane. Their fault has been that they have not raised them to their own level. This is not, however, a fault of Christianity, but of the European race. Muhammadans did not differentiate races. Europeans do. All that can be said is that Christianity has not killed the racil spirit; but Muhammadanism had never to confront with the racial spirit, because Muhammadans were originally Asiatics, and the sense of colour distinctions did not sway them at any time...,.........Some people would still believe that Hindu society still rests on the primeval basis of four castes. Instead of four there are now a thousand and more castes, each independent of the other, many claiming superior to the rest. And there is no authority now to say who is a Hindu and who is not a Hindu. All that the proudest Hindu can do is to keep himself off from the rest. The only means of preserving his pride is exclusiveness..............The lower castes are more independent than the higher. And the Panchamas, as they are called, have only to improve their material condition to establish their thorough independence of every other Hindu. Their salvation lies really in their education and material prosperity. It is the duty of all patriotic men to help them towards this end. When they have attained it, they will be acknowledged as equals."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The Calcutta ~~P~~ Police torture case.

24. In commenting upon the judgment pronounced by the High Court lately on the Police torture case which occurred at Calcutta, the Vysiamitran, of the ~~Mxmxmx~~ 27th May, quotes the following remarks of the Hindu in this matter:--Considering the offence, the punishment is by no means severe. It is a matter for regret concerning the Police administration that they have employed these methods of torture in the chief town of Calcutta. If the Magistrate had not taken action in this case, we may even say that the superior Police officers would never have admitted their having heard anything about it.

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31. In reporting the reply of Lord Crewe to the protest of the Calcutta Anglo-Indian press against his Lordship's statement in the House of Lords, the Swadesamitran, of the 28th May, observes:-- This reply of Lord Crewe's seems to be very opportune.

Lord Crewe and the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Press.7

Some of the Anglo-Indian papers in India have been cherishing the belief that though they might commit any offence and write strongly against the Government and the people, they would not be found fault with by the Government. In reality, these papers are treated like this. We are, however, pleased to see that the Secretary of State for India has now said that the Press Act is applicable to the Anglo-Indian as well as the Indian papers. It remains to be seen whether Lord Crewe will subject the Anglo-Indian papers to this Act and take action against them when an opportunity occurs.

On the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th May, writes:-- One of the Anglo-Indian papers at Calcutta says that though these papers have indulged in angry criticisms upon the transfer of the capital, it was not their object either to censure or condemn the Government. The Indian papers also said so, but their editors were punished. The offence of sedition is capable of being twisted and interpreted by the Government in any manner required. Before the passing of the Press Act, if the Anglo-Indian papers had only said that this Act was not necessary, Lord Minto would not have so hurriedly passed it. Their present clamour is of no avail. Will they at least now join hands with the Indian papers and press for the repeal of this Act?

Mr.Montague's views on Muhammadans.

33. The Mukhoir-i-Dakhan, of the 29th May, in discussing at great length the views expressed by Mr.Montague, the Muhammadans as a unitted nation, offers the following remarks :--

Mr.Montague's views on Indian Muhammadans are based on certain misapprehensions. They have certainly wounded the Muslim feelings to a large extent. This is another sad blow to their future prospects. The annulment of the partition of Bengal had already nipped their hopes in the bud. It is very strange that an able ruler of the type of Mr. Montague should commit such a blunder and it is not known why he has allowed it to occur at a time when the question of the annulment is still fresh in their memories. Muhammadans are all as brethren. They have no caste distinctions. They have equal regard for the Mussalmans of India ~~xxthey~~ as they have for those of any other part of the world. The Mussalmans of Northern India have no power to prevent the Bengali or Rajput Mussalmans entering their mosques. It is, of course, a serious and historical error that Mr.Montague has committed.

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No. 25 Of 1912.

For the week ending 15th June 1912.

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ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(h) Railways.

11. The West Coast Spectator, of the 12th June, writes:--

Indians in the Railway service.

"The Hon'ble Mr.N.Subba Rao, our representative in the Imperial Legislative Council, in the course of his speech moving the recent resolution on the appointment of Indians in the Railway service strongly commented upon the policy of excluding Indians from the higher departments of the Indian Railways. The President of the Railway Board promised to look into the matter, and adopt a liberal policy. He is giving effect to this policy but in a manner which places a certain section of the Indian people under a disadvantage inasmuch as their claims are ignored. There were recently three vacancies in the grade of Assistant Traffic Superintendents. These vacancies have been filled up by nominating an Anglo-Indian and two ~~Mxxx~~ Mussalmans. On the last occasion also Mussalmans were preferred. We will not be so uncharitable as to suppose that the Railway Board have purposely ignored the Hindus. It may be that no Hindu was selected owing to a pure accident. But then there is a heart-burning among the Hindu community, and we shall not be surprised if some of them attribute motives to the Railway Board. It is

to be hoped that, in the future, Hindus will be preferred till Hindus and Mussalmans equal in number. The Viceroy can do no better than give a hint to the President of the Board."

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The Indian Mussalmans and Lord Crewe.

29. Shams-ul-Akhbar, of the 5th June, in its article on the Indian Mussalmans, and Lord Crewe, observes as follows:-- Lord Crewe in reply to the protests of the London Muslim League against the Italian movements in the Dardenelles and other places, had impressed on the Indian Muslims the necessity of holding to the policy of neutrality and expressed the inability of England to interfere in the matter. The Mussalmans as ordered by our Lord that We should obey our rulers" will never swerve from their loyalty but will observe the policy of strict neutrality as maintained by our Government. We only desire that the British prestige in the Mediterranean should not be eclipsed. On the other hand Italy should be compelled to hold closely to her pledges of not extending her military operations beyond Tripoli. The British Government has every right to demand an explanation from Italy and other European Powers, as to the non-fulfilment of the promise made by Italy. The Mussalmans regard the Sultan of Turkey as their

religious leader. Italy is now commanding the ports of Hedjaz and other unprotected islands. The Mussalman feelings are consequently wounded by the Italian aggression. It is therefore, respectfully requested that Government will realize the loss that will follow from the Italian aggression and should do as did Austria that is should insist on Italy confining her operations to Tripoli.

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45. In commenting on the resolution passed by the Vizagapatam Industrial Conference

[The Swadesi enterprise.]

that a committee should be appointed to investigate the cause of the failure of many of the Swadesi attempts, which were started vigorously, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th June, remarks:-- It is usual for any of the committees appointed in our country, to forget their object, without meeting even once. We trust that this committee will not do so, but work in accordance with the resolution, keeping in mind the importance of its object. In the beginning, the Government was somewhat disturbed by the swadesi enterprise. Understanding the tendency of the Government, the Police magnified matters tenfold, and began to threaten and worry those whom they thought to be concerned in the Swadesi attempts; and this trouble by the Police has not yet ended. As there is now peace in the country, without any commotion and unrest, the Government will not misunderstand the zeal

of the people in swadesi enterprise. The Government never had any animosity against a real swadesi enterprise. All that is being done now by the Agricultural and Industrial departments established by the Government is nothing but a real and strong swadesi enterprise. If the people co-operate with the Government and work for the advance of this enterprise, what objection can ~~hxxGxxx~~ the Government have?

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No. 26 Of 1912.

For the week ending 22nd June 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

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2 II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

The Public Service Commission.

8. Referring to the announcement in the (London) Times that the Home Government have decided to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the Public Services in India, and a telegram from Simla, dated 15th June, which unofficially confirms the statement of the Times, the Hindu, of the 17th June, says:-- "The statement of the London Times that the Government has decided to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the question of the Public Services in India can hardly fail to be received with welcome by the Indian public, though it was known for some months past that the appointment of a Commission was contemplated, the Government of India having, as is believed, strongly

recommended the adoption of such a step...... .... As regards the scope of the Commission's ~~injury~~ enquiry, it is not possible to be precise.................Any hasty opinions, arrived at without the fullest public inquiry, can command no confidence, and can have no lasting value..............Facts should be squarely faced and not blurred over in the interests of any particular class of monopolists, and the only way in which this result could be attained, is to include in the scope of the inquiry, terms which raise the issues in a plain and unqualified way. After all the only outstanding questions which are really important in any discussion of this nature are those of recruitment and of the avoidance of monopoly in respect of public appointments."

In discussing this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 18th June, remarks:--

The constitution of the Commission is not yet settled; but we hope Mr.Gokhale will be on it. We would have preferred the matter to be settled by the Government of India itself in a broad and bold spirit without waiting to be enligtened by a Commission ~~is~~ which will take a long time to complete its enquiry. But the Commission is properly constituted, and its enquiry is properly directed, the Government of India will receive considerable moral support in giving effect to its policy of satisfying the just claims of Indians. No great advance is ever made in India without first advancing opinion in its favour; and the opinion of the Civil Service is of the utmost importance in carrying out great changes. The Civil Service is intensely conservative; but it is open to argument and conviction, as was seen in the case of the reforms...............We are all agreed that efficiency

must be maintained at all cost, and for the sake of efficiency it may rightly be argued that European training is necessary in particular offices, or that there must be a large infusion of European trained men to preserve the peculiar character of the service. But this need not imply any general conclusion against Indians. It will have reference only to their education and training, and not to their race and birth."

The Madras Standard, of the 19th June, writes:-- It is as well that before the constitution and terms of reference of the Royal Commission on the public service are finally settled by the Secretary of State, that public opinion in India expresses itself in unmistakable terms as to the nature of the demand that it should make, and the reforms that should be made, if a final settlement of the problem is to be arrived at. If we mean to sleep over the thing, the enemies of progress will not be slow to take advantage of it and nullify the result of the generous intentions that have actuated Lord Crewe in appointing the Commission. Let it be remembered that they are strong in number in England and India and well organised, have a powerful press behind them, and a powerful body of people to support them, with whose co-operation they have been able to stay the hand of progress till now. Every appointment that may be transferred to the hands of Indians means a berth less for aspiring British youths, and Englishmen who believe that the services should be kept as a close preserve for the sons of the English middle classes will lose no time in trying to entrench themselves as strongly as possible and allow very little room for us to fight for what is our just due. It is the powerful organisation, animated by self-

interest, of the British middle classes interested in keeping the services as their preserve, that has succeeded in neutralising the well-meant efforts of the good men and true who, since 1833, tried to place us on a level with British youths and endeavoured to abolish a governing class in India. But the white Brahman was too shrewd for us, and the Civilian heirarchy is infested with the spirt of caste. Who undid the generous intentions of the Parliament when, during the renewals of the Charter in 1833 and 1853, it committed itself to the abolition of a governing caste in India? Who helped in making the report of the Committee of the India Council, which reported in favour of simultaneous examinations being held in England and India, a dead letter? Who was responsible for the invidious distinction made by the last Public Service Commission, which divided the services into two branches, reserved one to Englishmen and the other to Indians? Who again set at naught the famour resolution of the House of Commons passed in Mr.Gladstone's last regime in favour of simultaneous examinations, which both Mr.Gladstone and Mt.Russell, the Under Secretary for India, pledged their credit to carry into effect? The persons who were then instrumental in goading the Government to break to the heart the promises made to the ear, cannot be expected to be silent now................Already, we are afraid, some of our candid friends have begun to interpret our wishes, and our contemporary, the Madras Mail, in its yesterday's issue, attempted to define the limits within which alone the Commission should work...........Our contemporary's solicitude for the educational well-being of the people of this country is touching, ~~but it is not merely the educational well-being of the~~

~~people of this country is touching~~, but it is not merely the educational well-being of the people that is under its special custody. The people of India, except those who are not directly benefited by the creation of more openings, often express a preference for British officials, says the Mail; but it is not willing to carry the statement to the legitimate conclusion and say that wherever possible Europeans should be preferred to Indians. But since the proportion of Indians, who can be employed in the services, bears to the general population a ratio which is infinitesimal, our contemporary raises a warning against exaggerating the popular gratification evoked by increasing the Indian element in the services. It can be gratified only, according to the Mail by dumping into the country the latest output from the Oxford and Cambridge University machinery. ....The question is not of increasing the Indian element and decreasing the English element, but of giving equal opportunities to both Englishmen and Indians, which has been declared to be the definite policy of British rule. We want that ~~that~~ promise to be vindicated, that pledge to be redeemed. It may be, open competitive examinations in England and India will drive out Indians owing to their intellectual inferiority. We are prepared to take the risk and abide by a uniform test. It behoves Indian public opinion to express in unmistakable terms that nothing less than that will satisfy it."

The Cochin Argus, of the 22nd June, observes:-- "The Hon'ble Mr.Subba Rao, it is certain, is not entitled to any exceptionally large share of credit for bringing about the forthcoming investigation.

He has, in our opinion, only focussed from his place in the Council demands frequently put forward on the Congress platform, in the Indian press and by more than one other member of the Supreme Legislative Council. There can be no doubt, however, that a Commission like the one about to be held is very desirable inasmuch as it is necessary that the circumstances and conditions of the various branches of the British Indian Administration should be comprehensively enquired into periodically..............It goes without saying that the object of Mr.Subba Rao and politicians of his school in pressing for the appointment of another Commission is the further augmentation of the indigenous element in the higher grades of the administrative system. We need not question the legitimacy of the aspiration as a whole, but anxiety cannot but be expressed as to the extent to which the present Liberal Government in England will make concessions to the more clamourous party in this country and their equally clamorous champions in England. It is an undoubted fact that, among the people of India themselves, there is a section, by no means inconsiderable, which is not quite in favour of any much larger admission of their own countrymen to the higher positions of trust and responsibility. In this section, the more highly educated minority are also pretty well represented, and in view of this, it certainly behoves the arbiters of the destinites of India to move with the utmost caution in so momentous a matter as the increasing replacement of the European by the Indian personnel of the public service. In the best interests of this dependency, it is absolutely necessary that the administration

should continue for a long time to come to be European in spirit, in character and in direction and control. It may not be in the least prejudicial to the best interests of the country to elevate Indians individually to the very highest and most responsible positions for which they have proved themselves morally and intellectually qualified, but it is a very different matter when it comes to the throwing open of stated appointments to Indians. The latter policy must necessarily weaken the British character of the administration and such a result is not at all to be desired. At the same time, it should not be assumed that Indians have hitherto been illiberally treated in respect of admission to higher appointments in the various branches of the administration, for, as a matter of fact, Indians have steadily been ousting Europeans and Eurasians from numerous appointments that were once the monopoly of the latter................The Morely-Minto Reforms have given Indians entry even into the Imperial and Provincial Executive councils, and that itself must be admitted to be a most generous recognition of both Indian claims and aspirations. It is now a question as to what further may be done by way of more largely recognising such claims and apsirations, while at the same time guaranteeing the continuity and presercation of the British character and spirit of the administration. It was long ago positively declared that India must be governed upon English and not upon Indian principles. Nothing has since occurred to weaken the force of this declaration, but there have been episodes and movements recently which have only emphasised the truth of the declaration. It is for this reason that the advent of the proposed

Commission will be most anxiously awaited by all those who realise that the continued propperity and progress of India depends mainly upon the sort of administation its rulers provide for it."

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9. The Wednesday Review, of the 19th June, remarks:--

The Nicholson Commission.

"It may be remembered that sometime ago to a question put to Mr.Montagu in the House of Commons, the Under Secretary said that the report of the Nicholson Committee was not to be published, and it was intended only for the Government of India. The answer was surprising inasmuch as the general public was as much interested in the findings of the committee as the Government, and there has been no precedent to make a secret of the report. The reports of all the committees and commissions hitherto appointed to inquire into the military expenditure of India have been published for general information and the public were given an opportunity of discussing the recommendations. We see no reason why a new departure should be made in this respect especially now when there is a growing amount of confidence between the Government and the people............It is not a small departmental matter which can be decided offhand by the Government. It involves questions of policy affecting not only the internal politics of the country but also its relations with other countries which must be discussed and decided

by those on whom rests the ultimate responsibility of the administration of India. In any case, there can be nothing about the Nicholson Committee's report which need be made a mystery of."

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The policy of the Liberal Government in England and India.

10. In an article under the heading "Look at this picture and on that", in which reference is made to the Franchise and Registration Bill, introduced in the House of Commons, recently, and comparisons drawn between the policy of the Liberal Government in England and India, the Madras Standard, of the 20th June, observes:--

"What is the position in which we find the Liberal Government grafting' representative institutions in India? Here they are attempting to introduce all the discredited and worn-out principles of Toryism. The University seat is to go in England, but representation in India is mainly communal and based upon sectarian differences and class interests. The legislature is not to contain the best brain of India, but it is to be a zoo of the varied types of humanity struggling with clashing interests. This reform or retorgression is entirely due to the Liberal Government, for the Conservative attempt at enlarging the legislature did not give rise to any sectarian representation.

Again, the voters need have only six months' continuous residence and no residential qualification is imposed upon the representatives. But the representatives in India must have put in some service in local boards and must have residential qualification. This is in entire opposition to Liberal principles and Liberal sentiment. Lastly, the object of the Franchise Bill is to increase the number of voters. The addition will be two and a half millions. In India we may not have qualified ourselves for the principle of one man one vote; but is there not a large number of persons who are practically disfranchised? There is no such thin like enfranchisement at all when it is remembered that only the members of h the District Boards and Municipalities and certain property owners can exercise the right. These distinctions and differences were made by the Liberals themselves, and even if they would not effect any revolution, they might at least have refrained from introducing anti-demonratic principles which the Unionists may not be inclined to remove at all. We wonder if the regulations are likely to be revised and fashioned on democratic lines by Lord Hardinge's Government, but a Government that is seriously tackling the problem of electoral reform in England cannot shut their eyes to the patent defects and absurdities of our electoral system. We trust the recommendations that the Local Governments have made and which are under consideration by the Government of India will be published and will be subjected to the scrutiny of the public here and in England before they are finally approved or acted upon."

12. In a leading article on this subject the Madras Standard, of the 21st June, writes:--

The India Bill in the House of Lords.

"Even from the maagre telegraphic summary of the debate on the second reading of the India Bill in the Lords, it seems clear that it was on a much higher level than the debates on the Bill in the Commons. There is no disguising the fact that a full-dressed debate on Indian questions in the upper house is far more interesting than the one in the lower, for, the men who take art in the Lords have served their apprenticeship in the practical handling of the affairs of India, and therefore speak with knowledge and certitude. It may be that they have their prejudices and idiosyncrasiex; but that is different from ignorance. ------Both Lord Curzon and Minto spoke with a knowledge of India which may not be up-to-date, and in fact in saying that the whole policy of the Government of India eas suspected by the people, they overshot the mark. It is not true that anywhere in India, except among the members that form the Institute of Journalists, Calcutta, there is any strong resentment against the recent policy of the Government. ---------We have from the first supported the Government in their recent changes, and so far as we have been able to feel the pulse of Indian public opinion, there has not been any resentment at all disclosed against them. -------But all our enthusiasm for Lord Crewe's statesmanship cannot shut our eyes to the obvious risk the Government of India are running in delaying the Delhi programme. The most effective criticism that will be directed against the Government of India will be not that the capital has been changed to Delhi, but that the Government have not cut and dried schemes of effecting the change with as little cost as possible. We cannot say that

attention has not been drawn to this aspect of the question at all. - - - - - - - -

The best point in Lord Curzon's speech was that the least that the Government of India should have done was to economise. Why not stop in Calcutta till the new Delhi is built? The question is unanswerable. The Government of India apparently began to waste a lot of money on temporary residences in the belief that the Durbar area would be suitable for building the new Delhi. But the new Delhi is to rise eight miles south of that area. The money expended upon the Durbar camp was done under the belief that the works would be of appreciable value to the Government of India as permanent works, when the transfer is made. - - - - - -

The Final selection of the Delhi site had been deferred to enable the experts to see Delhi immediately after the rains, and we suppose before the selection is finally made a year would have gone from the date of the announcement of the change of capital. At this rate, the capital must take a generation to build. Even supposing that it could all be finished in six or seven years, it seems absurd to waste extra money in temporary accommodation, to shift the Government of India between Simla and Delhi and Calcutta, keep a department in one place and another elsewhere. - - - - - - - - - - - -

If the Government of India propose to absorb all the surpluses in providing themselves with temporary habitations in Delhi, while they could have better stayed in Calcutta, till the new city was built up, and freely go in for fresh loans to England for the construction of the city, we are afraid they would be placing the finances of India in a very precarious condition, while business cannot but be paralysed in the Secretariat. We wonder too if the summer stay in the improvised city is best calculated to the smooth and effective working of the administrative machinery. Even if Delhi is the best of all bargains, we ought not to pay too dearly for it".

13. Emigration and Immigration.

Commenting on the annual report of the Board of Revenue, on Emigration and Immigration, during 1911, the Madras Standard, of the 21st June, remarks:-

"The report on emigration from and immigration into this presidency gives as usual a set of uninforming figures and facts that do not make us a bit wiser. We are not told if there were any breaches of rules in recruitment, how many complaints were lodged against the recruiting agents and what effective steps were taken to protect the ignorant emigrants from being enticed away by fairy tales of the golden land beyond the seas and misled into signing agreements of the contents of which they are ignorant. Sometime ago we exposed a case of kidnapping of two minors by a recruiting agent. This matter was even taken to the notice of the Protector of Emigrants, but that high-placed official would rather believe the statement of the recruiting agent than the statement of the mother of one of the boys and the certificate of birth granted by the Village Magistrate. And so, the executive machinery marches onward majestically, like the car of Juggernauth, crushing under its wheels complaings well-founded and ill-founded. One humorous feature of these reports, especially those issued by the Protector of Emigrants, is that they always bear an eloquent testimony to the treatment given to the coolies in the colonies".

The Indian Patriot, of the 22nd June, remarks:- "There is nothing in the story of a year's incessant flood of the best life-blood of India beyond seas, to stifle this enthusiasm for the educated and half-educated youths from expanding to the ignorant and poor men, women and children, who are registered as coolies and wafted over the waves at others' expense. But no one will read this part of the tale without recalling the horrors of indentured labour . They pledge their freedom for good, who offer themselves to be registered as labourers, to the agents. These agents are described as

human sharks, waiting to pounce upon poor and strong men, allure them by grand prospects of wealth, throw them into the steamer, and spirit them away into the possessing of heartless employers who work them without intermission. The stories will not be forgotten of how sick men are dragged from their beds to do the work; how husbands protest in vain when their sick wives are whipped into their portion of the work; how labourers who fail to do their apportioned work are beaten until the hand that applies the cane sinks in sheer weakness..... ....
The Protector of Immigrants protects no one. He is not the eager officer who feels the blow on an Indian coolie as a blow on the fair name and sense of dignity of his country and Government. There is, after all, not much difference in the treatment of registered labour as prevails in places where there are protectors of immigrants and where there are not.

The mind instinctively wanders into the dark, terrible regions in South Africa and Malay Peninsula, on reading the report of emigration. What untold miseries, what silent suffering, what patient toil of stalwart human beings lie hidden and ever to be hidden in the hearts of the thousands of Indians who return year after year from beyond the seas. From the day they come into the magic circle of the emigrant recruiter, to the day they start back to India, regaining once more the freedom which they had pledged for their daily break, what sufferings untold are pile over pile placed on their breast! They are ignorant. They are literally dumb-driven cattle. They bend their heads to the plough. They work on incessantly absorbing into the philosophy of poverty and ignorance every atrocity, every injustice, every unkind act. Their ignorance is their best friend, for otherwise they could never live amidst their surroundings. It is here when the mind is overwhelmed by the terrible and indescribable picture of human suffering, that it grasps the ideal of education . . . Without giving them education, without abolishing the indentured system of labour, the Government is literally sending to perpetual slavery and sufferings, year after year, some of its most

useful and loyal subjects. More abiding than the impressions of the Royal visit itself will be the act of Government that goes effectively to the rescue of the friendless, homeless, helpless Indian emigrant abroad. If he should go abroad, let him go as a free-born British subject, not as a slave who can be hit and spat upon by everyone unquestioned".

VI--MISCELLANEOUS.

The Indian National Congress.

19. Writing on this subject the Wednesday Review, of the 19th June, remarks:- "In all probability the Hon'ble Mr.Gokhale will be chosen President of the Congress. No one in India can possibly say anything against such nomination, it is one of the best that could be made. . . . . Behar would only be doing its duty to him by offering him the honour. But Mr. Gokhale himself would see that in the interest of the Congress it would be better if it was presided over by an English politician of repute. There is no denying the fact that the Congress has suffered a little in enthusiasm and the Government do not perhaps think it to be a necessary organisation for the political advancement of the people. The enthusiasm has to be revived and the utility of the Congress has to be made clear. . . . Now, how to revive the waning enthusiasm of the people and to create in the British public a greater interest in its well-being? It seems to us it can only be done by inviting for the presidentship some well-known English politician. . ... Happily Mr. Gokhale is in England. May we not commission him to sound a few possible men and make the offer to the most acceptable candidate? The value of having an influential Englishman as our President can by no means be ignored and except our lethargy we cannot see why we should have failed so far to move in that direction. We venture once again to urge on our countrymen the paramount importance of getting an English President this time".

Referring to the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress, which it is proposed to hold at Patna in December next, the Madras Standard, of the 20th June says:-- "We have now arrived at a stage when we are in a position to judge of the effects of the Morleyian reforms. They have been given a fair trial and the practical working has revealed serious defects and pointed the lines in which they should be improved and extended ... . The Congress which met at Calcutta soon after the Delhi Durbar was at a disadvantage in enunciating a constructive policy based on His Majesty's announcements and speeches. . . The Congress shall have to place before the country and the Government a constructive educational policy, with special reference to elementary education. All the Provincial Governments, as if in conspiracy, joined to kill the Elementary Education Bill and the greatest measure ever brought before the Imperial Legislative Council has been successfully stifled. In the direction of the extension of ~~spec~~; local self-government in the country, the progress has been advisedly slow. The wheels are clogged by groundless fears and deep-rooted prejudices ~~and in some ways explicitly~~ and in some ways ~~Bmaigkxatedx xjexCongxxxs~~ inaugurated, the Congress has to urge on the Government of India a constructive programme for broadening the sphere of local self-government. . . There are two other subjects of far-reaching importance which the Congress will have to specially consider. The Nicholson Committee will, by the time the Congress meets, have sent in its report to the Government of India. The most disturbing factor of it, is the secrecy of the proceedings and we are not yet vouchsafed information as to the publication of the ~~proceedings andxwexarexnotxyet~~ report. We are perfectly in the dark as to the aims and scope of the inquiry and as to whether all these will end in saddling some more military charges on this country. The Indo-Persian Railway is now a settled fact and it is only a question of time when this country will be connected by rails with the continent of Europe, and this unexpected contingency might be seized upon by the Military

department and used as an effective lever by the military alarmists for inaugurating their pet schemes. Lastly, we have the Royal Commission on the Public Service, which would have begun to sit by the time the Congress assembles. The Congress should unmistakably pronounce its opinion on certain important questions which may be discussed at the time as, for example, the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India for entrance into the Civil Service, the removal of the principle of a ruling caste, etc. It would thus be seen that the forthcoming session is in every way a very important one and we have no doubt that our leaders realise the gravity of the situation".

20. The Eurasian Community. Referring to an article which appeared in the Empire Review under the heading the "Balance of Power in India" by Mr. Skipton, the Indian Patriot, of the 20th June, comments as follows:- "Mr. H.P. Skipton surveys the whole population of India, and dismisses them as effeminate or warlike, the effeminate as useless, the warlike as antagonistic. The domiciled the Eurasian community alone he regards as both reliable and useful, and in any trouble he counts them as "the balance of power in India". That is to say, when the British Government is confronted with any trouble like the mutiny, the only people who can be expected to stand by it is the domiciled community and therefore he advocates for them the most favoured treatment. The matter in which he pleads for it must perplex the Government, even if they estimate the value of the community as he himself does. It is impossible for the Government to alienate over three hundred millions of people for the sake of barely a quarter of a million of them. Yet the fundamental basis of his plea is the deliberate alienation of the rest of the population. He uses very offensive language about important sections of the population; and the spirit in which he speaks is the spirit of the mutiny days, against which Lord Canning protested. .. . So far as

Mr. Skipton draws his picture from the mutiny, he forgets the part which those very people, whom he counts as the likely disturbing forces, played. But for them, every historian of the mutiny acknowledges, the mutiny could not have been quelled in the manner and with the success it was quelled. It is a travesty of history to suggest that the domiciled community saved British rule against the entire population of India. . . The domiciled community are indeed most useful, and ought to be afforded every inducement to continue loyal and attached to the British Government, and it is not at all desirable to permit them to be captured by foreigners within the Empire, who have their own aims. But the basis of solicitude for them must be, not distrust of the rest of the population, but a due appreciation of their value as elements of strength. No ruler can wisely adopt a policy based on a fundamental misconception of history and circumstances. If the community is not better than what it is, the fault is not of the Government. The community as a whole has yet no fixed policy. It has been drifting, now allying itself with the European, now with the Indian, identified completely with neither, nor even as a link between the two. And recently its political associations have been so organised as to dissociate from it many of those who were for a long time counted as part and parcel of it. The weakness thus caused on one side has not been repaired by accessions on the other. . . . We are not sure that the Government can do much for a people so disorganised and weak and so devoid of a common aim and purpose. Even with their small numerical strength, if well organised and led, they can hope to be an influence and a source of real strength to the Government. As it is, Government hardly realises their value, and themselves are not able to know it. Appeals to the sentiment of Englishmen seldom rouse sympathy; at best they excite only pity. The conditions of life of the vast bulk of them are by no means an encouraging factor. Government cannot by any means feed, clothe and house the depressed sections of them, nor can it make them industrious and thrifty. Many able

bodied men of the class, who speak English correctly and can do some useful work, are found begging from door to door. What can be done with such people even by the Government? ... Places in the Government Civil Service, occupations in the army and so forth cannot advance the community as a whole to a sense of self-respect and independence. This sense must be evolved from within by their own will and energy".

VERNACULAR PAPERS

The Shams-ul-Akhbar, of the 10th June, in its leading article on "the Turko-Italian war", gives the various causes which brought about this war. Of these the following are notable. Italy had, before the declaration of war, consulted quite confidentially the principal European powers; Germany and Austria objected to this war, but Italy satisfied them by declaring that she would safeguard their interests and at the same time try to cripple the British maritime power in the Mediterranean. Italy had further promised Russia that she would not allow her military operations to extend to Albania or Macedonia, and that she would watch the Austrian interests in the Adriatic Sea. Italy requested England and France to observe neutrality. As France had only recently annexed Morocco, she did not say anything and there was no other attitude for her except that of neutrality. The British Foreigh Minister, in the faint hope of Italy's navy helping Britain in case of a war between Germany and England, declared her policy of neutrality. England for fear of matters taking a serious turn, should Egypt expouse the cause of Turkey, directed her to observe neutrality. Now Italy had a free hand. Since the breaking out of this war Italy has safeguarded the interests of Germany and Austria, and has not committed any raids in Albania, Macedonia or the Adriatic. But, she has sacrificed the commercial interests of Britain and France. All the ships which Italy has captured were those belonging either to France or to England. France demanded the surrender of the captured ships, but England's foreign minister did not pay any heed to the common appeal of Englishmen and Indian British

subjects, against Italian aggression. Italy even cannonaded the ports lying on the Arabian shores, most of which are the centres of Britiah interests. In short, Italy has done everything which lay in her power to smirch the prestige of England in the Mediterranean.

In conclusion, the Shams asks how can we, the Britannic subjects, maintain the STATUS QUO, when the other powers are extending their spheres of infauence. We had often appealed to the British Foreign Minister to call Italy to account for her infringement of the International law, but he has declined to interfere in the war on the ground of neutrality. Austria and Germany, in spite of their declaration of neutrality, would not permit Italy to advance towards the Adriatic or Macedonia, then why should not England adopt a similar course when she observes that her interests are being sacrificed?

A paragraph in the Kerala Sanchari, of the 12th June, referring to the Turko-Italian war, says that the war is likely to prolong if the great European powers do not intervene and bring about a reconciliation between the combatants. Italy being superior to Turkey in her navy, her activities are generally confined to the sea; and Turkey is determined not to yield on any account. The opinion is expressed that the indifference of England, Russia and Germany in the matter is not in keeping with the prestige of the civilised countries.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION

(a) Police.

The Inspector of Police in Srirangam.

23. The Hindu Nesan, of the 17th June, complains against the posting of a Mussalman Inspector of Police named Sayyid Jaffar Hussain to Srirangam and observes:-- The Police Inspector of Srirangam exercises jurisdiction over the shrines of Srirangam and Tiruvanaikkoil and, as a rule, this Inspector has always been a Hindu. Nearly ten years back the same question cropped up, and it was decided that a Hindu and not a Muhammadan should be the Police Inspector of Srirangam. As the Hindus attach

greater importance to religious distinction than to character, the Government should consider a little over this affair. If the present Inspector, who is a Hindu, cannot be retained in Srirangam, we would suggest that Mr. Seshagiri Rao, B.A., B.L., the Probationary Inspector of the place, may be confirmed in his appointment.

(b) Courtms.

24. A correspondent in the Manorama, of the 14th June, writes

The new sub-court proposed to be established at Palghat to be located between Palghat and Calicut.

about the heavy work in the Civil Courts in South Malabar and about the inability of the Judges to cope with it, and says that the additional sub-court which is proposed to be established at Palghat should, if public convenience be consulted, be located somewhere between Palghat and Calicut, i.e., at Manjeri or Angadipuram. But in the absence of railway communication to either of these places, Pattambi or Tiru or Shoranur will suit the convenience of the litigants. The correspondent further says that the Sub-Judge of Calicut should be invested with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge so as to relieve the District Judge of a portion of his heavy criminal work.

(c) Jails.

25. A correspondent in the Manorama, of the 14th June, invites

Grievances of the warders of the Cannanore Central Jail.

the attention of the Inspector-General of Prisions to the hard lot of the warders of the Cannanore Central Jail. It appears that the Superintendent of the Jail dismisses warders of long services and good conduct on the mere allegation that they are unfit for work. Four warders who had each put in a service of twenty-six years were recently dismissed. It is a matter for regret that persons who have honestly worked for such a length of time are thus summarily dismissed depriving them of their small pension and rendering them helpless.

(d) Education.

26. The Andhrakesari, of the 10th May (received on the 19th June) referes to the rejection of the Elementary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, and discusses the question whether there is any other way to help the Honourable gentleman to realise his object in introducing the Bill. It points out that although the Government may be slow in the matter of imparting elementary education to the masses, the people are not so unwise or poor as to hesitate to take up the work of educationg the masses themselves. If the money that the people now waste on pageantry and other luxuries be allotted to mass education, the masses will certainly emerge from darkness to light. There is no doubt that every town, whether small or big, has five or six rich men at least, and every village one rich ryot. They now do various acts of charity, and it will be well, says the paper, if they ponder over this question of the education of the masses, and open at the rate of one free elementary school for every village and five or six schools for every town. It rests with the educated men of the country to help the spread of education among all classes. They have to go from village to village, make aquaintance with influential men, discourse with them on the necessity of imparting education freely, and influence their minds. The paper hopes that the Indian public, who are great appreciators of learning, will not hold back from giving elementary education to the masses freely, and add one more to the list of charities to which they are already accustomed.

Elementary Education.

(f) Land Revenue and Settlement.

28. Referring to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Raghava Rao Pantulu in the Legislative Council regarding remission of assessment, the Desamata of the 12th June, says that as one-third of the produce generally covers the cost of cultivation, it is but right to infer that the cultivator was

Remission.

not benefited at all when the crop was less than 5 1/3 annas in the ruppe. The Government have from time to time stated that they have determined the assessments in the Madras Presidency on the basis of a share of the crops. Such being the case, although the Government are collecting assessment in the form of money, yet inasmuch as they enjoy a share of the produce, they ought to shate equally with the ryot any loss of crops sustained by him. It is not therefore reasonable on the part of Government to say that they grant remissions to ryots as a matter of grace. Again, the Government have not defined exactly what total loss of crop is. The Government have given Collectors discretion in the matter, and the latter have in their turn left the matter to be decided by their subordinates. On the report of these subordinates, Collectors entirely depend, and this proves a great hardship to the poor ryot. The paper says that when the outturn is less than one-third, the authorities should properly class it under total failure of crops and remit the entire assessment. The Government opposed the motion that the further consideration of the subject might be adjourned to the next meeting of the Council, and rejected the resolution altogether. The paper remarks that the non-official members ought to have gone to the Coucil fully equipped beforehand with all the information available to make out a case, and hopes that they will no more be guilty of such neglect in future.

Writing on the same subject the Kistnapatrika of the 7th June, states that from a perusal of the history of land revenue of olden times, it will be evident that the ryots have been granted remissions at a matter of right. It points out that the Government have from time to time admitted the propriety of granting whole or partial remissions for failure of crops. Under such circumstances, the paper is at a loss of know how it came about that a note has been added in one of the standing orders of the Board of Revenue to the effect that remissions are granted as a matter of grace. Again, the Government have left cases of total failure of crops to be

decided by Deputy Collectors, etc. As the granting of remissions does not find favour with the authorities, the Revenue subordinates give a construction to the rules which is favourable to Government and unfavourable to the ryot. The Government ought therefore, says the paper, to define once for all what totsl failure of crops means and includes. In conclusion the paper states that the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Atkinson on behalf of Government is full of irrelevant explanations, and regrets that the non-official members asked for an adjournment and the official members have not given their best consideration to the subject.

(k) General

Licences to possess fire-arms.

31. A correspondent to the Kistnapatrika, of the 7th June, says ~~thatxinx~~ that in the Guntur district alone, about 210 licenses for the possession of fire-arms have been cancelled during the current year, and surmises that the other districts too might have shared the same fate. Government is aware that in villages where there are no fire-arms, the people are constantly in danger of their property being stolen. The district of Guntur is infested with robbers, and the cancellation of 210 licenses is a real hardship to the people, whose life and property have now been endangered. The correspondent prays that Government will be pleased to revive the licenses and help the people to preserve their person and property without fear from robbers.

The Muhammadans as a United nation.

32. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 8th June, in its leader on the coming elections of the Local Legislative Council, says that the Mussalmans have no parties of their own, like the Hindus have. The Hindus have their own parties, e.g., extremists, moderates and nationalists, etc. The existence of such parties brings forth many good results. They fight for their rights and safeguard their interests. Muhammadans have not got any political capacities. They can neither understand the politics of other nations, nor are they able to express their ideas in political form. The existing reformed Councils require that only men possessing high political views should obtain a

seat in them.

33. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th June, expresses its satisfaction at the open way in which Lord Carmichael is consulting the popular leaders in Bengal like the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu and Babu Surendranath Bannerjea on the proposed changes in the Council Regulations and observes:-

Lord Carmichael and the popular leaders.

This is a new system and the credit of having orginated it will ever remain with Lord Carmichael. Though Sri J.D. Rees thinks that consultation with agitators, as he calls them, like Messrs. B.N. Basu and Surendranath Bannerjea will only land the Government in difficulties, Lord Carmichael has differed from him and we are glad he has done so. If only the administration is conducted on these lines hereafter, unrest and sedition, will never appear again in this country.

III. LEGISLATION.

35. The Durbar, of the 10th March (received on the 17th June), refers to the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the total stoppage of the emigration of indentured coolies to the Colonies, and remarks that the emigration agents, whose sole object is to make money, practise deceit on the ignorant and uneducated poor, hold out false hopes to them and send them to foreign countries. They refrain deliberately from acquainting them with any of the disadvantages they have to experience in a foreign country. The poor emigrants yield to their inducements, leave their native land, and find themselves labouring under a variety of disabilities, being required to serve under masters, who have no knowledge of their manners and customs, and from whom they could not extricate themselves until after the expiry of their term. It is very much to be regretted, says the paper, that the Government rejected the resolution although it is one that ought to

Indentured labour

commend itself to Government, and all the non-official members had voted in its favour.

36. The Kistnapatrika, of the 7th June, refers to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Raghava Rao regarding remission of assessment and says that it is extremely disgraceful on the part of the non-official members, every one of whom ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the above subject, to have said that they could not disxuss it until some time is allowed them. The Honourable mover of the resolution informed Government of hsi intention to do so a long time back. The resolution was published in the Hindu 15 days before the meeting of the Council. Under such circumstances, it is a surprise that the Honourable Members wanted more time to study the subject. They do not seem to realise that their contention in the Council will gain strength if they consult with one another beforehand on the various subjects on which they are expected to speak in the Council and go there fully informed. The paper hopes that they will do so in future at least and be more careful. The refusal of Government to grant the adjournment prayed for by some of the non-official members does not redound to their credit. They ought, says the paper, to have taken into consideration the importance of the subject and granted the request of the members.

The Madras Legislative Council.

IV--NATIVE STATES.

38. Writing on this subject the Sadhvi, of the 16th June, says--

The curtailment of public holidays in Mysore.

"This was one of the questions that engaged the attention of the Economic Conference. It was proposed that the Pongal day, the Installation day, the Holi and the Empire day should be omitted from the list of full holidays; that the Sivarathri, Sreeramanavami, Good Friday and the birthday of Muhammad should be partial holidays; that partial holidays be treated as half-holidays in educational institutions, that new moon days be made full working days; that for high schools, the Christmas days be extended to two weeks and that the

Muharram holidays be reduced to the 7th, 8th, 9th (Partial) and 10th day (general) holidays. An amendment was made that Christmas holidays should be reduced to two days, namely, Christmas day and New Year's day, and that Good Friday should be a general holiday. Only 5 voted in favour of this amendment xxx xxxx out of 36 members who were present. Many voted against it and the amendment was lost. Twelvevoted in favour of the proposition and the rest were neutrals. There is reason to make Sundays holidays. Those who work hard require rest once a week. All other holidays are unnecessary. The holidays given in memory of good and great men, Gods and Prophets, may be made partial holidays, and officials, college and school boys must be made to work from7 to 10 in the morning. During midsummer, they must work in the morning from 7 to 10 in or even 11. It is a matter for regret that many of the members of the conference showed a boyish longing for holidays. The number of holidays given now materially affects the efficiency of the courts, offices, colleges, schools and other institutions. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja should set their face against this demoralizing practice. . . A conference, in which a number of people are officials, is not entitled to decide this question. It requires the disinterested decision of His Highness the Maharaja and we are sure that that decision cannot but be for the material curtailment of unnecessary holidays".

39. The Sadhvi, of the 16th June, in a long article on this subject, writes:- "We learn that a European Puisne Judge will be brought to the Chief Court of Mysore. We have received a number of letters taking objection to the measure. Some people, who can speak with authority on the matter, say that if Europeans who have interests in this country wish to have a European in the Chief Court, it is better to have a European Chief Judge. It is thought that a person, to be brought to such a place, should be a man of great learning, high legal acumen and lofty character. They further say that he should be a middle-aged man and a successful Barrister or Judge of at least ten years' standing.

xx The Mysore Judicial department.

It is added that the Lord Chief Justice of England is paid double the pay of the Prime Minister of England in order to add absolute independence and prestige to a post to which is entrusted the life, liberty and honour of the people. It is stated that a European Chief Judge of such a character would be an acquisition to the State and would make the Chief Court a fountain of unmixed justice. There is much reason in this contention,. Our Indian Judges have established a character for great intelligence, greater technical knowledged and the greatest capacity for work. But people think that they must acknowledge with shame that most of them have yet to acquire that independence of character and that sturdy moral courage which distinguish many a high class English Judge. It is on this account that the people are so very keen about an English Barrister as our Chief Judge. We agree with the sentiments of these people in this matter. The introduction of a European Third Judge is a matter on which the Government of Mysore would do well to carefully reflect. When there is a large number of men in the judicial service of the State distinguished by the high legal attainments and character, why should we resort to outside Civilians? The people think that if the Government have resolved to bring a European Civilian as Third Judge, they have erred and we have no reason to thinh otherwise. The Judicial department should be so manned that if the Chief Judge's place becomes vacant, the Second Judge may take his place, and the Third Judge the Second Judge's place, and the Senior District Judge the Third Judge's place, and promotions, thereunder, should be regulated according to merit and seniority in the subordinate service. Unfortunately, for the efficiency of the judicial service, this is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao's Civil Service mould through which every officer of the State was made to pass, had been productive of the greatest inefficiency in the General, the Revenue and Judicial line and we wonder that the remnants of this administrative barbarism should be allowed to remain even under the present enlightened Government. The evil of bringing outsiders to be Puisne Judges in the Chief

Court is too demoralizing to be left unnoticed. Men with the highest attainments and character, with great capacity for work and with exceptional knowledge of law and men who can, if called upon to do so, do justice to the work of all the three Judges of the Chief Court, and men who know the language of the country and manners and customs of the people and men who, if they had not committed the mistake of serving their own country and who, if they had not committed the the mistake of serving their own country and who, if they had begun life in British territory, would have very easily risen to the High Courts there, are in the judicial service of this country. It is too late in the day for them to resign their appointments and go to British territories in search of distinction. In their case the desire to serve their country has operated as an obstacle to their well-deserved advancement. I s it good for any Government to throw a damper over the earnest and enthusiastic work of these gentlemen? We ask the members of the Government to consider, how they would feel if outsiders, with scarcely one-tenth of their abilities, uprightness and capacity for work, are brought by His Highness the Maharaja to be inflicted over them. Would they, in such a case, maintain their character for justice and fairplay? Would they not make hay while the sun shines? The Government of Mysore would, we hope, consider this question and set their face against the introduction of an outsider to the place of the Puisne Judge of the Chief Court. If the Government of Mysore aim at the efficiency of the Judicial Department, they should build up the department from the foundations. Law graduates of five years' standing and of good practice should be appointed as Munsifs. Successful Munsifs of five years' standing should be appointed as Sub-Judges. Successful Sub-Judges of five years' standing should be appointed as District Judges. Successful District Judges of five years' standing or

more should be appointed as Puisne Judges. The Chief Judge should be selected from the Puisne Judges, if possible. If a European Chief Judge is wanted, then a middle-aged Barrister with a successful practice of ten years or more or a European Judge of the High Courts in British territory, who has put in a service of ten years or more should be appointed. . . When the Judges are sure to rise to the highest Court in the State if they make themselves comptetent, the moral tone of the judicial service must necessaribly improve. We hope the Government of His Highness the Maharaja will consider the question from the standpoints we have chalked out, and try to improve the Judicial department, which has been making rapid advances towards decline".

VI--MISCELLANEOUS

The British army and navy and the shares of England and India in their cost.

43. With reference to the probable reductions in the expenses of the army in India, which may be recommended by the Sir William Nicholson Committee, the Swadesamitran, of the 11th June, observes:- Since the year 1860 when the Indian army maintained by the East India Company and the British army were amalgamated, opinions have been divided as to the respective shares to be borne by each country in the total cost of the army. In course of time it has thus happened that India bears the greater portion of the expenses of the army while England bears the cost of the navy alone. Still it is wrong to say that India does not pay anything for the navy. For the portion of the British navy stationed in the Indian Ocean, out of the total cost of £393,000, India pays £167,500. In view of the fact that the chief powers of the world are constantly increasing their navies. Mr. Winston Churchill and Lord Haldane expressed the opinion that the whole of the British navy should be stationed in the

English waters and that the several colonies should be required to pay for the construction and maintenance of new men-of-war for their protection. The London Palmall Gazette also writes to a similar effect. If Great Britain acts accordingly, India will have to spend much for the sake of the navy. It is but reasonable that India should be relieved of its present expenses, viz., what it pays for the British army and for the navy which protects the interests of South Africa, Egypt, Australia, Malaya and other colonies. As the squadron of the British navy stationed in the east is intended for the protection of these countries as well, which do not now pay even a pie towards its cost, it is but reasonable that they should also share in it. How can it be justified that India is now made to pay for the army guarding Egypt? In this connection we should bear in mind that it is not only India that is benefited but also Britain.

India and the trade of the British Empire.

45. In commenting upon the proceedings of a conference, recently held in London, of the representatives of the several Chambers of Commerce in the different parts of the British Empire, the Swadesamitran, of the 13th June, says:- The object of this conference is to bring about greater unanimity in the matter of improving the trade between England and the Colonies and that among the Colonies themselves. Our contention is that India should be classed as one among these Colonies; for the trade between India and Great Britain is greater than that between England and the Colonies. The Colonies and India are bound together by the tie of loyalty to the British King, and they are as much interested in the welfare of England as England is in their case. In order to secure the sincere sympathy of the Colonies, England has granted them the privilege of self-government, and we believe that the aim of the British Ministers in introducing the recent reforms in India is only to grant her swaraj in course of time. It will be beneficial to England to grant the same liberty to India

as it has given to the Colonies in the matter of trade also. Every Colony has now the privilege of levying a duty on the goods imported from England, India and other Colonies. Though this is against the policy of England, she does not interfere in it. But India does not enjoy this privilege. Even in the matter of Customs duties and inland trade, India is forced to act according to the wishes of England. Until this arrangement ceases to exist and India acquiries liberty in the matter of trade, it will occupy a very low position in the Empire.

46. New capital and other changes. The Andhraprakasika, of the 15th June, says that although it is now six months since His Imperial Majesty had deciced to transfer the capital of India to Delhi and although many preliminary arrangements have already been made for the same, it is to be regretted that the Anglo-Indian editors and Anglo-Indian merchants of Calcutta, certain newspaper editors in England, and members of Parliament are still protesting against the change. It is a well-known fact that the Indians for whose benefit the change has been intended, and the Secretary of State and the Viceroy who have to carry out the change have all applauded the action of His Majesty. The Anglo-Indian critics of Government have also protested against the annulment of the partition of Bengal and stated that the authorities had, in doing so, yielded to the threatenings of the Bengalees. It may be that the circumstances existing at the time of Lord Curzon made the partition imperative. But times have changed, and with it the conditions of the country, says the paper. The partition of Bengal brought in its train great confusion and unrest, and these have ceased to exist ever since his Majesty declared it cancelled. Such being the case, the paper is at a loss to know why the Anglo-Indian critics of Government still oppose these reforms which they have already begun to carry out, knowing as the critics do, there is no chance of their being given up al all.

47. "Home Rule for India". In an article under this heading, the Sadhavi, of the 16th June, writes:- It is nearly seven hundred years since the Irish agitation for Home Rule began. It cost them several crores of wealth to keep up this agitation. Some went beyond the bounds of law and suffered imprisonment. Others defined the authorities and welcomed untold privations. Others still laid down their lives in support of this cause. It is only during the present Liberal Ministry that we see signs of their efforts slowly bearing fruit. The wonderful tenacity of purpose displayed by the Irish people during the space of seven long centuries commands our highest admiration. The grant of Home Rule to such a people is but the barest justice. Compared with Ireland, India cannot for a moment lay claim to self-government. We have not many among us who can be said to be truly devoted to the country. Even the work of the few we have is being constantly hampered by the selfishness of those around them; these, while ever ready to profit by the work of our patriotic leaders, are willing, at the same time, to help their enemies to bring about the ruin of their own benefactors. Our leaders, therefore, fear that as long as there are such treacherous men in the country it would not be possible to obtain self-government. But the number of such wicked men is small and their position almost insignificant. Among true patriots there is always a secret bond of mutual sympathy. When the proper opportunity for action arises, they are sure to offer their liberal support. In the absence of self-government it is impossible that the people can be happy or that they can have a proper return for the money that they pay to Government. We hope that every Indian will therefore work towards this end, namely, the eventual attainment of a system of Home Rule for India.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 29th JUNE 1912.

No. 27 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES

II-- Home Administration.

The Mymensing appeal case.

4. Referring to the decision of the Privy Council, in this case, the West Coast Spectator, of the 26th June, says:- "The decision is certainly a triumph of executive authority. A Magistrate is now perfectly free to search any house or do any act in contravention of the rights of the citizen on receipt of a police report without the fear of being dragged to a law court afterwards. It is a dangerous weapon surely the Privy Council has forged. It is therefore imperative that the weapon must be used sparingly and with great caution. The Government must, in view of the finding of the highest judicial tribunal, enact that it is obligatory to record a statement of the reasons for the search of a house before the search is actually made. For, as a contemporary rightly says, the judgment has exposed to imminent peril the liberty of the subject in an important matter. In the hands of inexperienced and impulsive Magistrates, the new interpretation may lead to dangerous results".

Compensation to Mr. Clarke, I.C.S.

5. The following appears as a leading article in the Madras Standard of the 29th June:- "We congratulate our genial friend, Sir J.D. Rees, on his pertinacity, but he apparently knows the men with whom he is dealing. The India Office has not always been over-squeemish with the expenditure of Indian money, and Sir John Rees has succeeded in getting the information from the India Office, that it means to compensate Mr. Clarke, I.C.S. The decision of the

India Office will, we hope, not be submitted to by the Government of India and the Finance Department without a protest. Mr. Montagu declared that the very moment the Privy Council gave judgment he telegraphed the result to India and asked the Governor-General and Council what compensation they proposed to give or what was the proper course to take. There was not a moment lost in deliberation as to what to do and the resolution was arrived at to compensate the man at once. We should be surprised if the request, as to what was the proper course to take, was meant to be taken seriously by the Government of India; but they will not be doing their duty to the tax-payer if they silently acquiesced in the proposals of the India Office. We are afraid that in this indecent haste caused by jubilation at the success of the Executive in the Privy Council, the India Office had no time to contemplate the possible consequences of such a novel proposal. Indian public opinion has not always opposed monetary compensation being given to members of the Civil Service and no one has questioned the generosity and policy of giving small competences to the families of persons who have fallen victim to the dastardly crimes of political murderers. But there is no knowing where the policy of compensating officials in their daily routine will end. No one will care hereafter to launch any proceedings against erring, executive officials as they are too well protected by law; and especially after the view taken by the Privy Council that Magistrates constituted Courts, whatever they may do which may give a cloak to that having been done in their official capacity, there can be no possible safeguard against executive excesses and high-handedness unless it be their own moderation and love of fair play. But when once the policy is enunciated that any official stands to gain by official compensation, we do not know if a premium will not be set upon executive vagaries. We fail to see why, once the policy is adopted of compensating officers

of a certain rank and status, those in the lower rungs of the ladder should lose the bukshish. From the humblest police officer to the first member of the Executive Council any one may henceforth rely upon the public purse for recouping himself if his conduct had been impugned and challenged in a court of law. We wonder if the India Office ever cared for the probable consequences of such an act. Apart from the heavy bills that will be drawn upon the public treasury, there is the demoralisation of both the officials and the public. Apart from the probable consequences of setting up a precedent, we should like to know if there are any exceptional circumstances in this case why Mr. Clarke should be given any financial assistance. It is apparent that, so far as the cost of the case is concerned, the Government have freely paid it and any compensation can only be as a solatium for the injured feelings of the man. Compensation as a solatium can be thought of only when the party has been absolutely guiltless. Has Mr. Clarke's conduct been above board? Does no blame attach to him at all? The law has recognised that a search is an offensive process and involves an invasion of private rights, than which nothing is more sacred, and it has set certain safeguards to be duly observed by the officers concerned. These safeguards have not been observed. Mr. Clarke pleaded before the High Court authority under the Arms Act, but he failed to record the grounds for believing that arms were to be found. There has been admittedly unnecessary damage caused to the zamindar in the course of the search and that is explained by the fact that Mr. Clarke had not previously held a search. Mr. Clarke has therefore not observed the provisions of the law, and though they may not be held to afford sufficient ground to mulct him in damages, he cannot be treated as though a perfectly innocent and straightforward man has been made victim of by unscrupulous persons. The Government, we presume, ought to invest their servants with a certain sense of responsibility and what would be the effect upon them when they say that

they are not only prepared to condone all but serious breaches of law, but also to compensate them for any feeling of injury caused to them by the aggrieved party seeking the protection of the law? It ought at best to develop a sense of irresponsibility. When a person of more than ordinary understanding--as we take the members of the Civil Service to be--they claim the service to be heaven-born--undertakes to discharge certain public functions, he ought certainly to be expected to know the risks attending it. The heavy scale of pay given to the Civil Service was, we presume, not adopted solely for the purpose of show, but in contemplation of the attendant risks. Not only the members of the Civil Service, but every Government official ought to know that he cannot violate the spirit of law with impunity, and if he does so, it is at his own risk. We trust the Government of India will not in this matter act in a hurry and regret at leisure; let them not forget that they are custodians of the hard-earned money of an impoverished and poverty-stricken people, which ought not to be thrown away in propping up erring officialdom".

(k) General

9. Commenting on the appointment of this Commission the West Coast Spectator, of the 22nd June, says:- "The complaint that Indians have very few opportunities of getting prize appointments in the public service is becoming stronger as days advance. The last Public Service Commission made a little improvement in the then existing state of affairs, but the constitution of the Provincial Service is regarded as a great grievance. . .It is to be hoped that Indians will be fairly well represented on the Commission. At any rate, there must be Mr. Gokhale on that body".

The Public Service Commission.

The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 23rd June, remarks:- "It is clear that in spite of the declarations of responsible statesmen, of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858, Indians occupy only a subordinate position

and that the governing class consists of the members of the Indian Civil Service who are mostly Europeans. In the face of this fact there is no use talking about the increase in the number of Indians in the higher branches of the public service. What is required is that in their own country Indians should be given the same opportunity that Europeans have to rise to places of trust, prestige and responsibility. Both are British subjects, and their Sovereign regards them alike; and it is but just, therefore, that the same facilities should be given to both to hold high appointments. That the position of Indians is not worse to-day than it was before is no argument against reform; and we are sorry indeed that some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries argue in the spirit of a privileged caste. It is not, however, in the Indian Civil Service alone that Indians are in a microscopic minority. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the differentiation has been carried out in nearly all the special departments, such as education, public works, survey, medical, police, forest, telegraph, etc. The new Royal Commission has therefore to consider all these points; and we trust that the terms of reference will be sufficiently wide and elastic. With respect to recruitment, training, etc., too, new methods have to be pursued. . . What is needed is that the Commission, which, we hope, will be mixed and popular in composition, must go about India and take evidence from the representatives of all classes of people, so that its conclusions may cover a large field of investigation and research".

Writing on the appointment of this commission the South Indian Mail, of the 24th June, says:- "Attempts have on previous occasions been made with best motives for the amelioration of the condition of educated Indians in the public services. But their conditions have not improved generally, though a small number of Indians have been admitted into higher spheres of the service hitherto blocked to the Indians, such as the Executive Councils of the Governors and

and the Viceroy. The greatest grievance of the Indians is, of course, the inferior position assigned to them in every department apparently on racial grounds. It is but meet that at this time when the position of India as a respectable partner of the great British Empire is rapidly being recognised, the sons of the soil should be given the same opportunities for official preferment as others are .... . Indians have nevertheless had occasions to find their way to progress in the services blocked by the regulations. The example of Dr. Roy who has been consigned to the Provincial service, though he has proved himself abler than many in the Imperial service, is perhaps the most astounding illustration of the anomalous distinction. Such differences ought to be done away with, and the recommendation for any appointment should be sheer merits of the candidates. Indians will then be satisfied".

10. In a leading article on this subject, the Madras Standard, of the 25th June, writes:- "It is some weeks since Lord Nicholson's Committee began to sit in Simla and take evidence quietly. What its true mission is and what the scope of its recommendations are likely to be, we in India have no means of knowing and we have to go for information to inspired writers in the British Press. There have been, of course, various surmises about the mission, but the latest and the most interesting information has been given by a writer in the National Review, who says that the mission was really accidental in its origin. Last year certain proposals were tentatively made for economising expenditure upon the army of India, and if carried out they would have involved some reduction of strength, but those responsible for the proposals never dreamed that their plans would create a great hubbub. The hubbub arose, and some way out of it had to be found and the result was the appointment of the committee. The gods in the tabernacle are never willing to lift the veil that hides their transactions, and we have no knowledge of the 'tentative" proposals that were proposed last year, nor apparently the writer in the National Review. All that is vouchasafed to us

The Nicholson Commission.

is a non-committal and phenomenally vague statement of the 'terms of reference', whose construction depends upon the literary idiosyncrasies of Lord Nicholson. .. .The writer in the National Review believes that the terms of reference do not include the undoing of Lord Kitchenner's work in India. They leave no opening for the suggestion of the revision of the present method of controlling the army in India. The writer had to give himself this assurance, because last cold weather there were widespread apprehensions that the committee would seek to abolish the Commander-in-Chief. These fears were based firstly upon the preference which Sir William Nicholson was believed to have for the system of control by an Army Council now adopted in England, and secondly upon the general recognition that the system of control devised by Lord Kitchenner had not worked very well since his departure. . . In the opinion of the writer in the Review, 'the white garrison of India is at its lowest possible limit and in his belif ought to be larger'. This is a most outrageous view. . . With the facilities for moving large masses of men opened by new railways and with the installation of wireless instruments, the need for further strengthening the army seems to be absolutely non-existent. . . The problem of the army, which was only a problem of how to deal with Russia on the Indian frontier, has now changed and it is now how to defend South Persia. It is the Persian situation then that will weigh with the committee. We can therefore well understand the statement that not only no great reduction of expenditure can be looked for, but that 'it will not be surprising if one result of the committee's inquiries will be recommendations involving increased expenditure'. What form the additional expenditure will take is only guessed. It would seem that Lord Kitchener's entire redistribution scheme will come under review. It is said that Lord Kitchener was unduly sanguine about the number of divisions which could at once take the field in the event of a war. The committee will enquire into such questions as

the present distribution of the army, the method and time occupied for mobilization, the question of transport and equipment and kindred questions, for which seven years were apparently insufficient for the greatest military organisen of modern times to solve. All these of course mean more money and more taxation. But which Committee in the past contributed to any reduction in our military burdens? Lord William Nicholson will only be keeping up the tradition if it added to our financial obligations and embarrassments".

The Government of India Bill in the House of Lords.

13. In a leading article commenting on the debate, in the House of Lords, on the third reading of the Government of India Bill, and the reply of the Secretary of State for India, to Lord Curzon's criticisms on paragraph 3 of the Government of India's despatch, the Hindu, of the 26th June says:- "The debate with which the Government of India Bill was wound up in the House of Lords will be received throughout the country with the keenest disappointment. The sweeping administrative changes and the huge and unnecessary expenditure and dislocation involved in the transference of the capital to Delhi were sought to be justified by the definite announcement of a change of Imperial policy, at once liberal and statesman-like, and calculated to satisfy the just aspirations of the people by the acceptance of their ideal as the trend of future Imperial policy in India. . . The political unwisdom and lack of sympathy, consistency and courage which Lord Crewe betrayed in his speech would come as a shock to those who believe that the maintenance of the Empire is dependent upon an active progressive policy in India... . The position taken by this Lordship is as incomprehensible as that of Lord Morley when he repudiated a parliamentary form of Government as the goal of Indian reform and progress. Neither of these noble lords have chosen to explain why they have taken this view or what in their view is or ought to be the goal of Indian political progress. . . The Secretary of State, a Liberal and a Radical, is unwilling to accept the position which,

whether openly avowed or secretly thwarted, is the inevitable and necessary result of the deliberate policy pursued by the British Government in India during a century-and-half. The removal of the capital to Delhi was expressly put on the high and intelligible ground of the development of provincial autonomy, and it is difficult to comprehend what has induced the present backsliding in policy on the part of Lord Crewe. It must indeed be obvious to every thinking man in this country that Lord Crewe has taken up a position definitely antagonistic to that taken by the Government of India and by his own Under Secretary, a position on which the Government of India ~~and~~ Bill was based in the House of Commons and from which the Secretary of State has now withdrawn in the House of Lords. It may be that Lord Crewe consulted his own inclinations or convenience and perhaps also the easiest way of speeding the Bill through the 'other place', against the attacks of Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer. He may also have succeeded in pleasing and pacifying these noble Lords and obtained their plaudits on his views. But it need hardly be stated that the theatrical expression of such sentiments will by no means damp the aspirations of the admittedly loyal men who claim for their country a right to govern itself, as all civilised countries do and look forward to the realisation of this ideal, which Lord Crewe thinks is 'a revolutionary one, though not in the sense of a desire to break up the British Empire'. They have pinned their faith as much on the declarations of Liberal statesmen and administrators in the past, a fact which Lord Crewe now seeks to belittle, as upon developing their own capacity for self-government. Lord Crewe will then find that the demand will be not merely for the theoretic acceptance of self-government on colonial lines as a future goal, but for the actual concession of self-governing powers to a nation whose fitness therefor is well established, and a Liberal Government could no more put off such a claim than they were able to put off the demand for Home Rule in Ireland".

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Writing on this subject under the heading "Lord Crewe as a fortune-teller", the Madras Standard, of the 26th June, observes:- "When politicians begin to tell the fortune of nations and cast the horoscope or large masses of mankind we are sometimes inclined to ask them to mind their own business. What with red-tape and the distractions of the petty problems of the hour, they must have their hands full and if they have any spare time, the contemplation of their own importance is enough to keep them out of harm's way. But some people take a delight in winning for themselves the debious credit of fortune-telling, and they will not be warned by the ignominious failure of others who have learnt by better experience the wholesome lesson that political forecasting is as unsuccessful an art as that of the meteorologist. If it is only a pleasant pastime to them affording temporary relief from the exhaustions of the routine, we can also allow ourselves to be amused by their excursions into the province of the astrologer; but unfortunately these men occupy positions of official trust and responsibility and their sentimental gibberish passes for the deliberate result of deep thinking. We, in India, have been treated to such periodical outbursts from the mighty that we cannot but think that they are the results of anything but accidents and that in certain quarters a sort of malicious pleasure is derived by the annoyance caused by them for the time being. Unasked and unsolicited the philosophic radical who played the Moghul at Whitehall for over five years threw the public of India a challenge by declaring that, so far as his imagination could go, India was unfit for representative institutions. Nobody asked him for an immediate grant of self-government on colonial lines, and indeed very few who knew anything of Lord Morley even thought that he would cast away the principles of his lifetime and given immediately full-fledged representative institutions to a people who, he once thought, ~~full-fledged representative~~ were semi-barbarians.

although Mr. John Morley as he then was he had not the grace to withdraw it, much less to apologise for it, when

~~in the Services, he was in charge of the fortnightly~~ he asked Mr Balfour to write an article for him to define the civil service and the Anglo Indian method of Adm. And when by the turn of the wheel of fortune he was installed on the throne of the Secretary of State on the throne of Sr. Sc. he could neither forget nor forgive and only shows how he thought that we are going back.

institutions and why he gave his imagination so much trouble as to see if every we were going to get them. But he did exercise his imagination once and contemporary history proclaims the result as deceptive as the medium of Julia is reported to have been to Mr. Stead so far as his life was concerned. He declared repeatedly in the House of Commons that the partition of Bengal was a settled fact, but in less than seven years it has been undone. A statesman who cannot see seven years' ahead is unfit for political prophesying. Dilettanti politicians might at least take some lesson from the case of Lord Morley, but Lord Crewe should beat even Lord Morley and should take for himself a place second not even to that of Lord Morley in the Vallhalla of false prophets. Otherwise it is impossible to explain why he should go out of the way and break to the heart the hope given to the ear by the famous despatch of the Government of India, in which they declared that the evolution of Indian constitution will be towards federation; a sort of autonomous provincial administrations dealing exclusively with provincial problems with an Imperial Government at the head. Where was the necessity for him to declare that he frankly saw no future for India on the lines of Dominion Government? ...... What is there impossible to try in this scheme which has secured for its acceptance the full responsibility of the Government of India? .... It remains of course with British statesmen to help or retard the movement, and if provincial autonomy is revolutionary, does Lord Crewe mean to say that the present system is the high water-mark of British wisdom and the work 'finis' must be written on the last page of the Government of India review of the report of the Decentralisation Commission? We have no objection to the Liberal Government declining to advance further, but it stands to reason that the Indian administrative machinery is open to overhauling every few years. Do they propose to go back or go forward? To go forward is to give the provinces the right of taxation and the right of

controlling effectively provincial expenditure, to reserve to the Government of India only those services which are truly imperial in their character, and to provincialise many of the departments which may profitably be provincialised, and to give the provincial legislatures effective control over the executive. These things do not mean self-government on colonial lines though they would come to it if the power of the executive is placed entirely under the control of the legislature. This may be long in coming, perhaps a generation, but nobody who has paid the least attention to the history of provincial decentralisation can help feeling that the tendency is surely in the direction of the expansion of provincial self-government. The scheme is by no means new and the Liberal Government need not state at its stupendousness....... Lord Morley and Lord Crewe stand to-day amazed at the immoderation of their own reforms and threatening to stay the hand of progress. For the nonce they may succeed in arresting progressive movements, but the puny efforts of statesmen are not calculated to overwhelm the inevitable march of events. No patriotic Indian will in any way feel dejected by the cold water thrown on him by the declarations of these statesmen, as it is impossible for them to adopt a reactionary policy for long. Every people will get the sort of Government they deserve, and if we deserve self-government on colonial lines, neither Lord Crewe nor Morley can for long stand in the way of our getting it. There may be a little delay, the utmost harm that statesmen can do, but our ultimate triumph is assured".

The Indian Patriot, of the 26th June, writes:- "the apprehensions roused in the minds of many people about the meaning of a particular passage in the Government of India's despatch on the Durbar changes are, we are glad to see, allayed by the statement made by Lord Crewe in the House of Lords. Lord Cromer is satisfied, which is a great thing,

and Lord Curzon is also satisfied, which is greater. The latter said that Lord Crewe's statement was a most emphatic and most unmistakable repudiation of the interpretation placed on the sentence in the despatch in question. The repudiation is, no doubt, emphatic, and it is also unmistakable; but we doubt if it is emphatic and unmistakable in repudiation of the particular sentence ...... We find nothing in the despatch which may be interpreted as necessistating such a repudiation. Lord Crewe, in our opinion, repudiates not what is expressed by the sentence, but something which others gave read into it. Colonial system of self-government is not certainly what is indicated in the despatch. If if were so, there would be no mention of interference in case of mis-government. The colonial system does not involve such interference; and no Government in England would think of interfering in the affairs of the colonies on any ground of misgovernment ....Even as regard imperial matters, the Home Government are extremely reluctant to force their will upon the colonies, and in such a matter as the ill-treatment of Asiatic British subjects, the Home Government have acquiesced in the action of the colonies rather than interfere with them.

"Here on the other hand the Government of India expressly reserve to themselves the right of interference in internal affairs of provinces in certain circumstances. They would not ordinarily interfere except in imperial matters. But they will interfere in the even of necessity. Such a reservation does not warrant the conclusion that the colonial system is what is intended. Lord Crewe's repudiation does not, therefore, efface the effect of the passage. That effect is that there will be a gradual grant of a larger measure of self-government, and, eventually, autonomy in all provincial affairs with interference in the event of misgovernment.

It is impossible to mistake the meaning of this .... The colonial system is not the system in India, and an extension of present Indian system will not lead exactly to the colonial system. But it will surely lead to an expansion of self-government, and autonomy in provincial affairs. It is not Mr. Montague that made the mistake, but rather those who read the colonial ideal into a sentence which has a different meaning. The satisfaction of Lord Curzon and others will, therefore, be only this, that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have not contemplated the conferring of colonial self-government on India. With us, colonial self-government is only a distant ideal; it is not an essential part of our claim that we should have a complete reproduction in India of the colonial system. We do not certainly wish that Britain should give up its paramount hold on India. We want to retain it. But this is not by any means inconsistent with our desire to attain the fullest freedom and development in those spheres in which we can be left to ourselves. And this desire even Lord Crewe does not deprecate ......Lord Curzon has no more succeeded in reversing th meaning of the despatch than he succeeded in reversing the Queen's Proclamation. The words are there in both, and they will stand in spite of any dubious interpretation which reactionary Viceroys or reactionary Secretaries of State may put upon them. There is hardly any use in fighting with words. We must face realities. Lord Curzon imagined on leaving India that he had exhaustively and finally settled the problems of India, the place of Indians in the Empire, the limit of their ambitions in it. But it did not take even three years for his estimate to be revised and for the limits he had placed to be widened. Another revision and widening may not take place in three years, but neither the people nor the Government are going to stand still, and to stand still for all time within the fencing into which

Lord Curzon thinks he has compelled Lord Crewe to withdraw. In politics there are very few settled facts; and it is impossible to bind the statesmen of the future to any fact which we have settled in our own way. And who can say that future statesmen will not read into the sentence in the despatch the meaning which Lord Crewe has repudiated, and act upon it as containing the right enuniciation of policy".

The Madras Standard, of the 28th June, has another leading article on this subject in which it observes:-- "It is impossible to read the speech delivered by Lord Crewe in the House of Lords vehemently repudiating the construction placed upon the third paragraph of the Government of India despatch of August last not only by the people of this country, but even by his own Under Secretary, Mr. Montagu, with any feeling other than that of supreme indignation and regret.... If a feeling of wide misapprehension of the bona fides of statesmen, when they make deliberate statements of their policy, spreads among the people through the whispering galleries of the East, as Lord Curzon would say, it is Lord Crewe who will be entirely to blame........We should like to know if he read the despatch of the Government of India before he replied to it. If he read it previous to his signing it, it is impossible to conceive that he could not have realised the full force of the promise solemnly given by the Government of India.......The repudiation of a policy solemnly enunciated in a State document cannot but have a deleterious effect upon the prestige of the Government. Lord Crewe declares that it is not the hope or goal of the present Government to give India self-government on colonial lines. We do not know what warranty he has to make that statement. It is certain that, so far as the Government of India is concerned, his repudiation cannot be said to have their concurrence..........A fresh chapter has been added to the series of disappointments which British statesmen have

caused to us; and that is all. Henceforth when they begin to enunciate a new policy, we shall know what value to attach to them. We can only exclaim, 'enough of this' ".

The Mysore Times, of the 29th June observes:- "We are pained to chronicle the disagreeable construction put upon the most important portion of the original despatch, by Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, during the debate in the House of Lords......... The cost of removing the capital to Delhi, and various other items of extravagant expenditure found justification in the one saving principle that was vouchsafed to the Indians, that in future they would have larger share in the Government of their own country. The goal of the ambition of young India, nourished by the sucklings of the mother of all democracies, England, was, and is self-government on Colonial lines. The immediate granting of it was not even clamoured for, and the mere happy thought that to-day or to-morrow they would attain the position of self-governing Colonies was enough to buoy them with hopes and aspirations. The democratic influence of the House of Commons produced nothing but the most desirable effects on Lord Crewe, but in the upper house the atmosphere produced a change in him......... We certainly do not understand why Lord Crewe should with such vehemence withdraw now what is most assuredly implied in the original despatch. Now even the vision of something approaching the dominion Governments appears to him a ghost, and how this hallucination took hold of him is inexplicable. It may be a political expediency, or it may be to please the temperaments of men like Lord Curzon in order that the Bill might early come into life. In order to please fastidious Conservatives at Home, our whole nation has been thrown over-board, and what was but promised some months back is emphatically denied to us now. There then remains for our consideration one single point. Have the words of Lord Crewe, whether uttered with all the sincerity of a true statesman, or as a creature to political expediency, the force of an inexorable law of nature? It is

still fresh in our minds the declaration by Lord Morley of the Partition of Bengal being a settled fact. How soon were the words of that great liberal statesman negatived........ We are undaunted in our aspirations, and a day will come when our just demands will not only be admitted, but our due share in the Government of our country, will also be conceded to us on the lines laid out in the original despatch".

The Eurasian community.

20. Discussing the article published in the Empire Review, in which Mr. Skipton regards the Eurasian and domiciled community as holding the balance of power in India, the Wednesday Review, of the 26th June, remarks:-- "It will be news to the domiciled community themselves that they hold the key to the political situation in the country. Mr. Skipton's reasoning is curious........ He is jealous of the influence of the Roman Church and jumps to the conclusion that as the Roman Church is opposed to the Anglican Church, the Eurasian community, if they are largely Catholic, will throw in their lot against England, when the British are in trouble in India. Mr. Skipton is unfair both to Catholic Church and the Eurasian community. His strictures and suppositions against them are as baseless as they are unjust. If the balance of political power in India rests upon religious differences, then the Hindus, Muhammadans and Parsis are as much open to the charge of dis-loyalty as the Roman Catholics, and in fact according to Mr. Skipton, everybody who is not an Anglican Christian must be an enemy to British rule. It will be quite logical in Mr. Skipton to say that the Indian Christians of the Roman Church must be all disloyal. If the Roman Church wants to use her influence in driving the British out of India, she need not wait till the ten-thousand children of the Eurasian community come under her influence and aid her in her schemes. There are Indian Catholics at hand whom she may pitch against British rule, if she were so minded! Mr. Skipton's contention is that the Roman Church has lost her influence in France, Portugal, Spain and Ireland and

she wants to make the most of her opportunity in India. We do not know what her exact position is in these countries, and even granting Mr. Skipton's statement to be correct, it does not at all follow that the Roaman Church wants to turn her opportunity in India against British rule. We have no hesitation in saying that it is an unwarranted libel both on the Roman Church and her followers in India. Mr. Skipton has egregiously blundered in locating the balance of political /power in this country. It is entirely devoid of any religious significance. It is none of the races in India which hold the balance of power. That is in the hands of the British Government and it may be trusted to hold it even between the different communities who, whatever their religious faith, flourish under its sheltering hand".

21. In an article referring to the finding of the Board of Trade Enquiry, on the Oceana disaster, the Hindu, of the 27th June, remarks:--"One or two public journals of the Yellow Press variety, who are never tired of talking about 'this great and glorious Empire' and of airing their pseudo-Imperial sentiments on all possible occasions, lent an ignominious support to the campaign, which had its origin in the hatred of the British seaman for the lascar. Those who remember the dispute the Peninsular and Oriental Company had with its seamen will have no need to be reminded of the fact that that dispute was ostensibly over the question of the manning of boats with white seamen but was really intended to exclude the lascars. The Company then pointed out that to adopt the suggestion would mean the turning out of employment of 30,000 lascar seamen. We regret to find that the Board of Trade Commission recommends the measure, but it attempts to get over the difficulty of the non-employment of lascars by suggesting that other white employees in the ship besides the sailors should be taught to handle the boats. How far this suggestion is practicable is a matter for the Company

British seamen and lascars.

to decide, but any action which might have the result of throwing lascars out of employment will be strongly resented in this country especially in view of the unhesitating vindication of the lascar that has been the result of the Board of Trade Enquiry. As we suggested before, the Indian Government has got a perfect right to interfere in the affair, and we hope it is not unconscious of its responsibilities in the matter".

22. The Madras Standard, of the 29th June, has the following:-

An alleged assault by a European officer.

"Elsewhere we publish an account of an alleged brutal assault by Mr. B.H. Barlow Poole, the District Forest officer of Kurnool, on a poor Indian ryot and also the copy of the complaint filed by the ryot in the Court of the Stationary Sub-Magistrate of Kurnool. From the account given, the assault seems to have been unprovoked and the unfortunate man seems to have been very roughly handled. Mr. Barlow-Poole was riding on a bicycle past a country cart in which the ryot was sitting. He appears to have thought that the cart was wrongly driven, the result of which was some accident to his bike. This was enough to upset the balance of Mr. Barlow-Poole. He sprang upon the man in the cart, as the driver had meanwhile bolted seeing the threatening attitude of Mr. Barlow-Poole. The ryot who was sitting in the carriage is reported to have been dragged down and severely punched and kicked with booted legs. The victim, a weak man nearly 50 years old, is reported to have bled profusely through the nostrils and mouth and become unconscious. But for the intervention of the Huzur Sarishtadar, who luckily happened to pass by, we do not know what would have been the fate of the poor man. The case is sub judice and we have to refrain from further comments. We would, however, call the attention of the Government to this incident and the deplorable effect on the public of the conduct of a European officer of the Government holding such a responsible position."

II. Home Administration

(h) Railways.

30. The Desamata, of the 19th June, says that in a paper read by Mr. Priestley at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, he pointed out that the present railway policy of Government was entailing a loss to the State, and suggested that in future the Government should follow the policy pursued in the Native States and construct cheap railways. If the Government would arrange, says the paper, for religious and charitable endowments in this country being used for opening cheap railways, they would surely make a profit from the very beginning. It hopes that Government will at any rate encourage the raising of capital in this country alone for such railways, so that any profits accruing therefrom may be enjoyed by the people of this country.

The future railway policy of Government.

32. Referring to a statement of the London Times that the Government has decided to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Public Service in India, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th June, observes:--The advisability of giving the higher Government appointments in India to Indians has of late been frequently discussed in the Legislative Councils and the Press, and a proposition brought forward on this subject by the Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao three years back in the Imperial Legislative Council received a sympathetic reply from the Secretaries to Government in the several departments. Last year also this topic was broached and it was stated on behalf of the Government that the matter was under correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State and that there would be an enquiry about it soon. The statement of the Times may therefore be true. We need not say that the time has come when steps should be taken to give the higher appointments to Indians and the Government itself is aware of this.

The proposed Public Service Commission.

It was in 1886, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, that the Public Service in India was divided into two classes, viz. the Imperial and the Provincial Services. The chief appointments in every department of Government, except a few which were thrown open to the Indians, were included in the Imperial Service and these were reserved for Englishmen. The Provincial Service comprised the few higher appointments referred to above and all the lower appointments and it was declared that the Indians could be given these appointments. This is the system obtaining even now. The result of this arrangement is that while almost all the higher appointments are monopolised by the Englishmen, it is only the lower appointments that are available for the Indians. The Government itself admits this and justifies it by saying that, as India is being ruled by Englishmen, the Government should consist solely of Englishmen and that this will not be the case, if the chief appointments are given to Indians. The Indians cannot feel flattered at this distinction being made between them and the Englishmen in the matter of Government appointments, and, in fact, they do feel the stigma of inferiority attaching to their status and position in service. They will never concede to the argument that the policy of the State requires that Englishmen should occupy a higher position in Public Service. It cannot be said that Indians are not capable of holding the higher appointments in the State. No one instance can be pointed out of an Indian having been found incapable of discharging the duties of an executive appointment conferred upon him. On the other hand, the Indians have been successfully exercising all the new rights granted to them, with credit to themselves and advantage to the Government. When there are capable Indians fit to hold one of the highest appointments, viz., the membership of an Executive Council, there is no reason to suppose that they cannot discharge the duties of offices, less in importance. Therefore the distinction now made between Indians and Englishmen in service is purely a

racial one and this is against the promises made by Queen Victoria and her successors. In sending a copy of the India Act of 1833 to the Government of India, the then Secretary of State positively declared that there would be no such body as a ruling class in India. Even the speeches delivered on different occasions by King George during his recent visit to this country clearly indicate that racial distinction will not be allowed to have any play in the Indian administration. This royal visit has inspired new hopes and aspirations in the minds of the Indians and they believe that a new era has begun for them. All this will become an empty dream, if even after the enthusiasm created in the minds of the Indians after the King's visit, they are not given the higher appointments under the Government in their own country.

Nothing definite is as yet known about the personnel of this Royal Commission. The names of Sir K.G. Gupta, Sir Archdale Earle and Mr. Gokhale are mentioned in this connection. In the old Public Service Commission, Mr. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Mr. Noolkar of Poona and Mr. Romesh Chunder Mitter of Bengal were the Indian Members. The nomination of Sir K.G. Gupta and Mr. Gokhale on the present Commission will give satisfaction to the Indians.

In commenting upon the same subject, the Swadesamitran of the 18th June, says:- When Lord Morley introduced his proposal to appoint Indians as Members of Executive Council, he declared that he was proposing this measure only to substantiate the promises made by successive British Sovereigns of meting out an equal treatment between Englishmen and Indians in India. But even after this statement, matters have not improved in any way. Excepting the appointment of a few Indians in the India Council in London and the Executive Councils in India, Lord Morley himself has not adopted this principle in making other appointments. As a matter of fact, the nomination of

Englishmen to the higher appointments has been rapidly increasing within the last 15 or 20 years, and in this respect Lord Morley is as guilty as his predecessors. It is therefore one of the duties of the proposed Royal Commission to see that this mistake is not again committed by the future Secretaries of State for India. This was the gist of the proposition brought forward in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao in 1910. A proposal similar to this was brought up before the House of Commons as early as ~~1893~~ 1913 by Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji and passed by that body. It was to the effect that the Civil Service Examinations should be held simultaneously both in England and India and that the successful candidates should be given appointments in India, irrespective of race or caste. This proposition was then sent to the Government of India for opinion, and that Government sent it round to the Provincial Governments. Excepting the Government of Madras, all other Provincial Governments and the Government of India also expressed themselves against the proposition and said that, if it was adopted, the Indians alone would pass the examination and get the appointments and that the British Government would thereby be weakened and its prestige lost. The then Secretary of State for India also agreed in this opinion and therefore this proposition was not given effect to. This was the first time it was laid down as a principle that to maintain the prestige of the British Government, all the chief appointments in this country should be held only by the British. This is directly opposed to our rights as Indians. If this opinion of the then Secretary of State is not changed, it will become impossible for the Indians to get any of the higher appointments. As long as this opinion is held by the British Statesmen, we Indians cannot have justice done to us. It will not be out of place for us to claim for special privileges, not enjoyed by Englishmen, since it is in our country and in respect of our Government. Still we do not make any such claim. We

claim only equal privileges with Englishmen and not higher and special ones. Moreover, it is a wrong notion that the British rule will no longer be British, if Indians were given the higher appointments. It is sheer folly to thing that men like Mr. S.P. Sinha and Mr. Sayyed Ali Imam will mar the efficiency of the British rule. Those Indians who get into the higher appointments will always be persons who have had a sound English education and also English experience in very many cases, and there is no reason to suppose that such men will make the British rule un-British. Moreover, if appointments are made in accordance with the aforesaid proposition of the House of Commons, the Civil Service will comprise both Englishmen and Indians, and Indians will not monopolise it.

The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd June, continues its comments upon this subject as follows:--The Madras Mail argues in the following strain: While out of the 2,182 appointments carrying a salary of above Rs.500 in the year 1867, 2,048 were held by the Europeans or Eurasians and 134 by the Indians, out of the 5,390 appointments of the same class in 1910, 4,466 were held by Europeans or Eurasians and 924 by Indians. Thus the number of appointments held by Europeans or Eurasians has increased only 118 per cent. Therefore, there is no basis for the cry of the Indians that the Government is unwilling to give the higher appointments to them and that it is partial to the Europeans.

But this is not a fair method of calculation. Now let us take it that there were 30 appointments in 1867 with salaries above Rs.500 and that 20 of these were held by Europeans or Eurasians and 10 by Indians. If the total increased to 60 in 1910 and 40 were held by Europeans or Eurasians and 20 by the Indians, can we say that both the classes were treated equally? It is only if the number of appointments held by the ~~Europeans~~ or Eurasians becomes 10 that the difference in treatment now complained of can be said to disappear ~~gradually~~ increased, and the number of those held by

Europeans or Eurasians gradually decreased, the distinction of race in the matter of appointmentx being thus altogether removed.

36. The Sasilekha, of the 25th June, says that it is most regretaable that higher appointments in the Police, Customs, Abkari, Post, Telegraph and Public Works departments as well as in the Medical and Railway departments are not conferred on educated Indians. Indians are not appointed as Collectors, Judges and College Poofessors. In colleges, it is no doubt desirable to have European Professors, but they ought to be abler than Indians. But at present there are Indian officers in the Educational department who are abler than European Professors. As regards the army, the mala and madiga converts to Christianity can, under the present rules, enrol themselves as Volunteers, while Justice Sri C. Sankaran Nair cannot secure admission into the Volunteer Corps. The paper learns that the Parliament in England is to appoint a Royal Public Service Commission to enquire into this matter. The Commission should, says the paper, considers the matter carefully and recommend the holding of the Civil Service Examinations in India simultaneously with those held in England. Those that come out successful should be made to go to England to receive further education for one year, and on their return should be appointed Collectors, Judges, Doctors, Engineers, etc. The Indians will not be satisfied with anything short of this, says the paper.

Public Service Commission.

VI--Miscellaneous

40. In dwelling on the necessity of a separate province for the Andhras, the Kistnapatrika, of the 14th June, says that, considered from an economic standpoint, the constitution of a separate province may mean a loss of wealth to the country. But in view of the other more important advantages derivable

A separate province for the Andhras.

from it, the Andhras, says the paper, should put up with it. As for Government, this change will afford great relief in the administration of the country! To attain this great object, the Andhras have only to ag itate with one voice, with firmness and perseverence, and without violating the laws of the land. If they convince Government that their object is reasonable and that they are fit to attain it, they will undoubtedly grant it. The paper hopes that the success of the Bengalees will inspite courage and enthusiasm into the hearts of the Andhras. Their language, their numbers, the revenue the pay to Government and the vastness of the territory which they occupy, have made them fit to have a separate Government. The public, says the paper, should be enlightened on the question through the columns of newspapers and by means of platform speeches.

41. The Kistnapatrika, of the 14th June, says that it is ashamed to write that in London hundres of English girls are annually exported to Paris, Berlin, Bombay, New York, and such other towns, for purposes of prostitution. It hears that a man made a profit of six lakhs of rupees by exporting his sisters in England and that 15,000 English girls were exported to New Yord in one year. This is a disgrace not only to the English race but to the whole mankind. No doubt a Bill is under discussion to put an end to this practice, which, the paper believes, will eventually be passed. But much good cannot be expected from it unless public opinion is created against it. It is the bounden duty of the people as well as of the King to fight against an evil of this kind and to put it down with a strong hand.

Exportation of English girls for purposes of prostitution.

43. The Swadesamitran, of the 21st June, writes:--There are a number of members in the House of Lords, who have once been Governors-General or Governors in India and these gentlemen never lose an opportunity of expressing their opinion on any question regarding India. But these opinions are almost valueless, as many of these gentlemen are not in touch

The opinion of retired Anglo-Indians on Indian questions.

with the condition of this country when they make their remarks. For example, both Lord Curzon and Lord Minto stated in the House of Lords that public opinion in India was against the transfer of the capital to Delhi. We can understand Lord Curzon making such a remark, because he is angry with the Liberal Government for having taken a step which had the effect of annulling his partition of Bengal. But it is surprising to see that Lord Minto agrees with him. We do not know on what authority he has stated that Indian opinion is also against the transfer of the capital. Perhaps the Nawab of Dacca has communicated such an opinion to him and some other gentlemen also have written to him secretly to this effect. But do these few represent the Indian community as a whole? Of course, there is no representative body in India like the British Parliament, which can voice forth the public opinion. Still, there are the enlarged Legislative Councils and there is the press. To our knowledge, the opinion quoted by Lord Minto has not been expressed either in the Councils or in the Press. It is not yet a year and a half since Lord Minto left the Indian shores and he also says that he is in close touch with Indian politics. When the statement of such a man is contrary to truth, how can we take on trust the opinions of men who were in India even before him? It is nearly seven years since Lord Curzon left India. How can his statement be relied on? The truth is that it is only men on the spot and not experienced foreigners, who can understand the events occurring in India from time to time. The mind of the Indian is changing so rapidly and the Englishmen themselves know this. Even the Englishmen in India admit that they cannot understand certain things occurring in their very presence, owing to the difference of language, customs, etc. Such being the case, how can statesmen, with only a past experience of India, understand the occurrences in India? We hope the British statesmen, who

are responsible for the Indian administration from time to time, will bear this fact in mind.

44. The Lokopakari, of the 24th June, contains the following remarks in its leader:- We have not heard anything of swadeshi enterprises for the last three years. The activity once evinced by our people in this matter seems to have died out now. Nobody ever pays any attention to this subject now either in the Congress or in the Conferences held in different places. Perhaps our countrymen think that the swadeshi movement is hostile to the Government! If our people swear to buy and use only those goods that are made in our country, how can it be acting against the Government? The Government itself has ordered that articles, which were till now being purchased in Europe or America, should be bought in India, if they are available here. The Japanese, Chinese and others are purchasing only articles made in their own countries and avoiding the manufactures of foreign countries. It is really regrettable that our people are not actuated by the same sence of patriotism. If the natives use only the swadeshi articles, they will help the development of swadeshi industries and the progress of the country as a whole depends on the development of its industries. So we hope our countrymen will lose no time in reviving their swadeshi activity and help the advancement of our country.

Swadeshism.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 6th JULY 1912.

No. 28 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I-- Foreign Politics.

1. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 30th June, remarks:- "The South African Union Parliament has been prorogued, and the Immigration Bill has again been hung up to the serious disappointment of the Indian community in South Africa.......The result of the present impasse, according to Mr. Polak, would be the prolongation of the anxiety of the Indian population until next year's session when the Bill may be again introduced. Under these circumstances no one can say when the South African Indian difficulty will be solved. We are not quite so sanguine about the results that would follow upon the working of the Bill now withdrawn. Not improbably the education test will be so applied as to exclude Indians of all classes. Generally it is not the best educated classes that elect to emigrate to foreign countries..........We hope that a detailed account of the present situation of the South African Indian colonists and the character of the solutions proposed will be forthcoming. In the meantime, the struggle will have to be kept up in South Africa, which means financial assistance from India".

Indians in South Africa.

Referring to the debate in the Union Parliament, at the end of May last, on the Immigrants Restriction Bill, the Hindu, of the 6th July, says:--"It was conjectured that the education test was regarded with so much disfavour by Members that the Government was placed in a dilemma. And the reception the Bill had shows also that there were other clauses in the measure which provoked opposition.........By way of reminding

Members that the Bill was not one which was initiated by the Union Government, but was forced on them from above, General Smuts stated that the Indian population had taken up an attitude in which they were supported by the India Office and the British Government, whereby they claimed an equality of treatment in law, though, in administrative action, different treatment could be accorded. This certainly points to the fact that the Union Government would hot have bxxxxx moved an inch in the direction of recognising the rights of British Indians in South Africa if all the resources--short of coercion--of persuasion, advice and appeal to the Imperial conscience of South African settlers, had not been availed by of by the Colonial Office on its own initiative an on the pretty constant and earnest representations of the India Office........ The futility of placing any faith in the words of the responsible administrators in South Africa must by now be clear to the British Government, what with their own disinclination to consider in a favourable light the grievances and rights of Indians, and what with the attitude of the extremists in the Parliament who would, by any means, drive the Asiatics' bag and baggage out of South Africa...........The Union Parliament having now more or less shown its inclination to ignore to recognize 'Imperial responsibilites', as the latter are understood in England, it will be interesting to see what further action the British Government propose to take in the matter. It is just possible that, after the Union Parliament re-assembles, the Bill may be brought up again; in that case, it is incumbent on the Colonial Office to let the Union Government know, in as clear and outspoken terms as possible, that the way in which matters affecting Asiatics have been treated by them are so unsatisfactory that, unless a solution, in the way in which it has been suggested, is arrived at soon, the Home Government should have to consider the measures they should adopt to put the whole matter, once for all, on a satisfactory basis. Will they do it?".

(k) General.

16. The Western Star, of the 29th June, writes:-"During the past four or five years, Indians have been appointed, even if temporarily, to superior posts in the Secretariats, Revenue Boards, Police, Salt and Abkari, Jail, Customs, Public Works and other departments. Besides, there has been an increase in the number of Indian Judges in the various High Courts, and above all, Indians have been appointed not only to the Executive Councils in India, but to the Council of the Secretary of State in England. Broadly speaking, all this is not at all astonishing. It is the outcome of British rule, of the present educational system, of the ideas which British rule and Western civilisation have planted in the country, of the drawing forth of the latent genius of the Indian people. One of the results of British rule in India has undoubtedly been to qualify the people step by step for the management of their own affairs, not on the old national lines, but on modern Western lines. But the problem of the increased appointment of Indians in superior administrative, chiefly executive, posts is not fully solved when it is said that, as far as it has been tried, the experiment of employing Indians in superior posts has been attended with satisfactory results. What still remains to be decided, and what is not by any means easy to decide, is the permanent effect upon the administration as a whole, upon the general development of the country, of a much larger infusion of the Indian element into the superior and controlling branches of the public service and a corresponding decrease in the European element there. It is as well to bear in mind that there is the widest divergence of opinion on this point. Both among Europeans and Indians, there are, on the one hand, those who firmly maintain that Indian can now go on progressing under an exclusively

The Public Service Commission.

indigenous administration, and, on the other, those who equally firmly believe that an exclusively indigenous administration would very quickly bring about a calamitous state of affairs throughout the country. Among the latter school of opinionists, we think we may very reasonably include responsible Indians in most of our Native States. In several of these States, as is well known, it is still considered the most desirable policy to employ Europeans in certain of the more responsible superior posts, which call not so much for mere intellectuality as for grit and character generally. Indeed, this is generally admitted to be the essential point in the whole of the difficult and complex problem............The work that the coming Public Service Commission will have to accomplish will be one of the most formidable magnitude. On the results of its labours and recommendations will depend very largely the future welfare of this country as also the future relations between Great Britain and India".

The Government of India Bill in the House of Lords.

17. Writing on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 29th June, says:- "Lord Crewe's speech in the House of Lords in the course of the debate on the India Bill, 'explsining away' passage 3 of the famous despatch in which he promised self-government for India, will be read in this country with feelings of supreme disappointment. There was no mistaking the sense embodied in the much-debated clause. Lord Crewe wrote clearly and unmistakably, without mincing matters; and the sentiments expressed, noble and at the same time weighty, were hailed with a chorus of approval. Whatever discontent there was by the removal of the capital to Delhi, it was greatly minimised by the promise of self-government clearly outlined. In fact even a school-boy could not mistake the

language of the despatch..........The Government of India also committed itself to the same line of policy laid down in the despatch: and we all thought that Lord Crewe would not go back upon his words solemnly pronounced with all the weight of his authority and office. His understudy in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu endorsed Lord Crewe's statement..........Undoubtedly it will heighten the discontent, which is not desirable at this stage of the evolution of our country. So far as we are concerned, there is no mistaking what we will do. We wholly and unreservedly take our stand on the terms of the despatch. Our goal is self-government within the empire under the aegis of Great Britain. We are determined to reach that goal through constitutional means. There was explaining away ere this. The solemn promises outlined in the Queen's Proclamation were attempted to be explained away but time has triumphantly vindicated the reputation of the authors of the Proclamation".

The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 30th June, remarks:--"Whether Lord Curzon and his colleagues would have obstructed the passage of the Bill even at the third reading state, had Lord Crewe not repudiated the interpretation put upon the passage in the Government of India's despatch referring to provincial autonomy, is more than one can definitely vouch for. Our own belief is that even if the Secretary of State had refused to make any statement on the general Indian policy of the Liberal Party the Bill would have been passed all the same. Perhaps Lord Crewe felt himself unable to resist the point of Lord Curzon's attack in no other way. Since the publication of the despatches on the Delhi pronouncements Lord Curzon tried, both by pen and by speech, to create an alarm. He would never allow India any measure of

self-government, and he got his own party to support him.........Lord Crewe has now defined and affirmed his political faith he has qualified his statement. His repudiation has deprived his political opponents of a subject which, by the way, possessed but an academic interest, and it has indeed satisfied them. Lord Curzon and his friends are rejoicing with exceeding great joy. But is there not something Pickwickian about it all?.........
While, however, Lord Crewe repudiates the meaning which certain over-sanguine people have read into the despatch, he repudiates not its direct natural interpretation. Between him and Mr. Montagu the only difference we notice in this respect is that while the latter confines himself to the despatch, the former, apparently from the exigencies of debate in the House of Lords, goes out of his way to express, though in as gentle and inoffensive a manner as possible, his disapproval of the ideal of the Congress. But Mr. Montagu has not been thrown overboard by his chief. His statement of the Indian policy of the Liberal party has not been affected by what Lord Crewe has been led to say in the House of Lords. Indeed the Secretary of State accepts and confirms, indirectly and by implication, the exposition of policy given by the Under Secretary.........Let us, however, leave the future to shape its own destiny. The words of the despatch cannot be explained away. The contain the deliberate expression of policy on the part of the Government of India, which has had the singular advantage of being accepted in its entirety by the Secretary of State and by His Majesty's Government. Those words were published to the world on a unique historical occasion, which invests them with a gravity and sanctity which no utterances in Parliament, or elsewhere, of individual statesmen can take away from. India will stand by the text of the despatch".

The Wednesday Review, of the 3rd July, writes on this subject, as follows:--"Most often disappointment comes of aiming at too much and that is why perhaps some people here feel disappointed at Lord Crew's speech in the House of Lords, in respect of clause 3 in the Government of India's despatch regarding the administrative changes announced at the Delhi Durbar. Surely our fitness for a colonial or any other form of self-government does not depend upon a particular clause of the despatch. Its retention will no more fit us for self-government than its deletion will disqualify us. It is in us to make or mar ourselves and we are surprised at the vehemence of the criticisms against Lord Crew's interpretation of the clause, as if our very existence depended upon it........ To us in India a colonial form of self-government must remain an unattainable ideal for a long time to come, however praise-worthy our ambition that way may be. Meanwhile it must be a waste of breath to quarrel over abstract ideals which we know full well we cannot realise in the immediate future...... It is one thing for the Indian politician to look forward to a colonial form of self-government for his country and a different thing altogether to expect the British Government to officially countenance such an aspiration. Individual Englishmen unburdened by any administrative responsibility, may, in a generous mood, 'talk of the glorious day when England shall retire from an emancipated India'. But that glorious day is a long, long way off and it will be mis-directing our energies if we do not bend them to the work in hand and to what is realisable in the immediate future. We have to do a great deal of pioneer work before we fixed our political aspirations so high. The restrictions or usages which impede our social progress must be removed, and we need an almost thorough overhauling of our national character,--we do not refer to our spiritual or religious supremacy. What we must call our public character, for lack of a better word, has to be built up, that we may achieve even a small measure of political independence. Our social outlook must broaden, and we must cease to hug ourselves to customs and habits which have lost all their orginal significance and which have merely

dwarfed us into social pigmies. Above all, let us realise, betimes, that with a defective social organism it is impossible to attain any degree of political greatness. If we set about in earnest to root out the evils which eat into our society, and learn and apply to ourselves the principles which have conducted to the political supremacy of other nations, we shall know how idle it is to quarrel with those who do not see their way to flatter us by dangling before our eyes goals of self-government which demand of us a long and toilsome journey".

The report on emigration and immigration for 1911.

18. The West Coast Reformer, of the 30th June, has the following:- "It will be remembered that the Madras Government very recently issued on order recording the report of the Protector of Emigrants. Mr. H.S.L. Polak, the resolute friend of the Indian coolies abroad, has not left the report uncriticised. The report says that 1,627 emigrants returned last year from Natal with a saving of Rs.2,24,400. Mr. Polak points out that this amount represents slightly under 25 per cent. of the total possible savings of an adult labourer. When we remember that the labourer's food and lodging are free and his return passage is also free, it seems, says Mr. Polak, a significantly small saving after five years of penal labour spent in exile overseas. He again hints that the possibly good earnings of the few might have been made after their period of indenture and by ~~xxxxxxxx~~ continued contracts, and perhaps by illegitimate means! 'Where a woman who earns only half a man's, wage returns with any large amount, one may be tolerably certain that it was not obtained by honest labour'. Mr. Polak's view of the statistics and notes of the Government order is that they are misleading and incomplete. There is no doubt that indentured labour is not good in its financial or moral effects, and it is hoped that

emigration of labours from India will be gradually stopped all round".

II--Home Administration
(Police)

23. In commenting on the mischief and corruption practised

Police reforms.

by certain police subordinates, the Sasilekha, of the 29th June, remarks that the present system of police administration is rather defective, and that the rules relating to the lower grades in the service give room for such mischief to some extent. The rules require that each police constable should detect a certain number of cases. He who detects a large number of cases is honoured above all others. In paying more regard to the letter of the rules than to the spirit, the police subordinates are indiscriminate in their detections, so much so that they often bring innocent men to punishment. The police officers, says the paper, do great injustice to the public out of love for money or fame. They also torture the prisoners under their custody and do many such horrible dees. The paper admits that there are honest and efficient men in the department, but the good that they do is seriously eclipsed by the evil which the unprincipled men in the department are guilty of. The paper says that the department is in urgent need of reform and suggests that the police officers in the lower grades should be allowed increased pay to enable them to be above corruption. Those who are guilty of misdeeds in spite of the increase in pay should be adequately punished. The restriction that a certain number of cases must be detected by each constable should be removed. The paper hopes that the Government of India will, in consultation with local Governments, en eavour to reform the Police department on the lines indicated above and win the gratitude of the public.

(b) Courts.

24. A leader in the Lokaprakasam, of the 1st July, referring

24.

The Mymensingh appeal. ✓

to the decision of Judicial Committee in the Mymensingh appeal, remarks in English as follows:-- "Never was the Calcutta High Court sought to be so humiliated as in the recent Mymensingh appeal to the Privy Council, the gist of which decision we published in our last issue as telegraphed by Baron Reuter. The uncongenial effect of this decision which more or less makes a District Magistrate all powerful is evidenced in the great consternation and dismay into which the whole Bengal is now thrown. We leave it to our generous readers to decide whether the learned Judges of the Premier High Court in India who tried the case deserve such trenchant castigation. It might be observed that their Lordships of the Privy Council have not had the special advantage of examining before them the several witnesses nor of observing their demeanour and a serious responsibility would rest upon them if they were to challenge the judicial findings. of facts.

" . . . . .

" The article, after giving a short outline of the facts of the case, says that the action of Mr. Clarke in conducting the search of the cutcherry of the zamindar was to put it briefly incomprehensible and an abuse and in proper exercise of authority.

"If the judicial findings of the two lower Courts show that Mr. Clarke's search party behaved like rowdies, the present decision of the Privy Council is the outcome of ignoring the concurrent findings of both the Indian Courts".

(d) Education.

Education and the prescribed text-books.

25. The Lokopakari, of the 1st July, remarks:- The nature of the books now in use in the schools is such as to make one think that they have been introduced only with the motive of enriching the English book-sellers. These books are changed every now

and then. These changes cause great hardship to the parents of school boys. Moreover, copies of the prescribed text-books are not at times available in local shops and, even if they are available their prices are exorbitant; even the note books used by pupils for taking notes have to be in a pattern approved by the Educational authorities. It cannot be said that the present-day education is in any way superior to that imparted in olden days. All the same the cost of the text-books prescribed now-a-days is nearly threefold what it was before and this is the only redeeming feature of the present-day education. The parents are driven to the necessity of stopping away their children from school, on account of their inability to purchase the text-books which are varying from year to year and the prohibitive scale of fees. We hope the Government will soon take proper steps to remedy this state of affairs.

(e) Local and Municipal.

The Godavari District Board.

26. The Suvarnalekha, of the 25th June, says in its leading columns that the administration of district and taluk boards is not properly reviewed, for, under the present system, both the administrators and the reviewers are officials. If non-officials are appointed presidents of these local bodies just as non-officials are appointed as chairmen of municipalities, the officials will be enabled to criticise their administration freely. As, at present, Government officials touring in villages have to attend to various duties including local fund duties, they do not find time to do anything thoroughly. But a non-official president will, during his tour, devote his whole attention to duties connected with the local fund. Whatever may be the state of affairs in the other districts, the Godavari district is provided with many conveniences. It has roads, canals, railways, etc., and as the non-official president too will be granted travelling allowance, it is not right to state, says the paper, that no non-official will ever

come forward to accept that post. It is argued, says the paper, that non-officials are ignorant of the affairs of the country. It points out that during nine months three gentlemen were appointed presidents of the Godavari District Board one after another. Their knowledge of local affairs must necessarily have been very limited, and it is not proper to argue that men born and brought up in thei country have not got even that limited knowledge of local affairs. The paper, in conclusion, hopes that Government will take the matter into their kind consideration and grant to the district and taluk noards of the Godavari and Kistna districts the right to elect non-official presidents. It assures that if such a privilege be granted these local bodies will be better administered than now.

27. In expressing its surprise at the Collector of Chittoor having appointed the Public Prosecutor of the place as the Vice-President of the District Board, in the fact of the Government order that attempts should be made as far as possible to secure a non-official for this post, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd July, observes:- Perhaps this Collector is not aware of the opinion recently expressed by Government that Public Prosecutors are Government servants. Moreover the Public Prosecutor of Chittoor is not even a member of the District Board. It is really regrettable that the Collector should have thought that there was none among the non-official members of the District Board who was fit to occupy this post. What a pity it is that a privilege acquired after a strenuous struggle in the Legislative Council should be rendered a nullity by the acts of Collectors!

The Vice-President of the Chittoor District Board.

(i) Public Works.

28. A correspondent in the Kerala Patrika, of the 29th June, invites the attention of the Malabar District Board to the

The necessity of a new road in Ponnani taluk, Malabar district.

desirability of a road being opened from Kothaparamba to Chettuvayi in Ponnani taluk, and remarks that the absence of a road is a source of great inconvenience and hardship to the inhabitants of Mannappuram and adjoining amsoms. The article regrets that the District Board has not yet felt the necessity of constructing such a useful road. The plea of want of funds cannot be put forth as the inhabitants of Manappuram are willing to contribute a substantial sum towards the construction and there will not be any objection even if a toll-tax is levied on those who use the road after its construction. It is hoped that the President and members of the Board will direct their special attention to the matter and will, without much delay, order the construction of the said road.

(k) General.

29. In a leading article on the interpretation, by Lord Crewe, of paragraph 3 of the Government of India's despatch during the third reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Lords, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th June, says:- Lord crewe has now stated plainly that it is an empty dream for the Indians to expect to acquire swaraj on the colonial lines at any time. But we are glad to note that he has admitted that those who entertain this hope have not the least tinge of sedition in them. Sir K.G. Gupta and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale are among those who are of this opinion, and surely they cannot be suspected of harbouring seditious ideas. But even the present statement of Lord Crewe will not damp the ardour of those who think that India will one day attain swaraj on the colonial lines, because it is not possible for any one to fortell the future of a great nation, and even in cases where great statesmen are quite sanguine about any future event, they are not always dogmatic for fear of providing the criticism of those who are not in favour of it.

The Government of India Bill in the House of Lords.

Anyhow the Indians fully believe that they will not continue in their present condition for long, that they will gradually become more united, acquire greater liberty and try to get the administration of their country into their own hands, and that they will surely succeed in their attempt.

31. The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd July, writes:- We learn that Lord Macdonnel may probably be the President of the proposed Public Service Commission. Though there is no doubt that he is one who has fully sympathy with the rights of the people, we think he is not the proper man to be the President of a Royal Commission, which is to enquire about the condition of the public service. We are of opinion that the President of such an important Commission should not be a retired Anglo-Indian like this gentleman, who would naturally have already formed definite opinions regarding Indian problems. It is better that a man with an open mind is chosen as the President. He should have no connection whatever with the Government of India. In our opinion it will give universal satisfaction if a first-rate British statesman of the stamp of Lord Haldane is offered and accepts the Presidentship of this Commission. Both by way of experience and culture, he is well fitted to occupy this position and his legal acumen will be a real help to him in the discharge of his duties.

The President and Members of the proposed Public Service Commission.

Regarding the members of this Commission we can only make a guess now. Among the Englishmen, Sir Theordore Morrison may be one and among the Indians, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, Sir Krishna Gupta and Mr. S.P. Sinha may be in it. The ministers should invest this Commission with sufficient powers as the benefit resulting from the work of the Commission will be proportionate to the powers given to it.

IV. Native States.

33. Writing on this subject, the Sadhvi, of the 1st July, says:- "The Government have passed proceedings directing that the pay

Distinction between Indian and European officers in Mysore.

of the Senior Surgeon with the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and ex-officio Sanitary Commissioner and Inspector-General of Prisons in Mysore, when the offices are held by a local officer, should be fixed at Rs.1,400 per mensem without any local allowance. We do not understand the rhyme and reason of this order. The pay and allowances are for work turned out and not for either colour or creed. Sometimes it so happens that local officers do more work than others and they turn out their work more efficiently too. Why should they be denied what their non-local brethren get? In a Native State at least these individioas distinctions should not find favour".

The Mysore Civil Service examination.

36. In a latter to the Sadhvi, of the 1st July, "Fairplay". urging the exclusion of non-Mysoreans from the Mysore Civil Service examination, writes:-"The Mysore Competitive examination is a peculiar one, unlike the examinations of the other countries of the world. It is thrown open to the people of the whole of India. The candidates may not know the language, manners and customs of the country. They may have no stake whatever in the country. They may not even be the domiciled subjects of the State and yet they are permitted, nay, solicited to compete for success in the examination. A knowledge of the vernacular of the country is indispensable to a man who wants to bear authority over the people. But the language of the country is excluded from the scheme of the examination..........We hear that the Mysore Mahajana Sabha made a powerful appeal to His Highness the Maharaja in the matter. The appeal has been referred, we hear, to the Government, a Government which is bent upon having a monopoly of the loaves and fishes of the Government for its own favourites. It is unnatural to expect any justice from such an interested Government. In no country on the surface of the globe is the tax-payer compelled to pay taxes for feeding aliens to the

extent that is done in Mysore..........If the country is to get on, the Competitive Civil Service examination should be reinstituted and it should be confined only to the subjects of the Maharaja. Out of every five appointments of the Probationary Assistant Commissioner's grade, two should be given to successful candidates in the Civil Service examination, two to those who have done meritorious service as Amildars and one to any whom Hish Highness the Maharaja wishes to advance on the score of pedigree. We appeal to His Highness the Maharaja x to take the initiative in the matter and, unless it is done, the Public Service of Mysore will become the Jahagir of exploiters from Madras".

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

41. The Sasilekha, of the 28th June, says that of the two creeds proclaimed by Mr. Dadabhoy Nouroji, namely, Swaraj and Swadeshi, the Congress has defined Swaraj as self-government under the suzerainty of the British Sovereign. Lord Crewe has recently declared that India can never hope for the colonial form of self-government. This pronouncement of the Secretary of State for India has, says the paper, blighted the hopes of the Indians. As for Swadeshi, the paper says that it will be well to define it as the manufacture, as far as possible, of the articles required by the Indians in India itself. It regrets that people demand Swaraj from Government, but have not been able to do even this small work of manufacturing their articles themselves. Co-operation [illegible] shaken and [illegible] Government given pecuniary help. The rich men as well as the patriots of the country should buy and use articles manufactured in India itself though they may be dearer than foreign articles. This, says the paper, is true Swadeshi which Indians should practise.

Swaraj and Swadeshi.

Apart from education, union is necessary for the advancement of the weaving community and the best means of creating it is to start co-operative credit societies among them. We do not know why neither Mr. Chatterton nor the Government has made any mention of this in formulating proposals for the amelioration

of this class of people. There is no reason to suppose that co-operative credit societies will not work satisfactorily among these people. One should only exercise a little patience and tact in dealing with them and it will be seen that they are as capable of working co-operative credit societies as agriculturists have proved themselves to be. The industry, which was the first to be ruined by the competition of Englishmen, was the weaving industry and we hope the Government will make genuine efforts to revive it by improving the condition of the weavers.

The ten commandments.

43. In an article under this heading, the Sadhvi, of the 1st July, writes:- A recent issue of the Vrittanta Patrika published an article regarding the "Ten Commandments" of Christ. As these seem to contain the very essence of the teachings of Christianity, it would be interesting to know how far these commandments are followed in actual practice. The first commandment is "Thou shalt not steal", and closely allied with this is another "Thou shalt not cheat by uttering falsehoods". Yet theft and deception are as rampant in Christian countries as in any other. Nay, more. If we consider the agressive wars that are now so common among Christian nations and the selfish motives which are at the bottom of these wars, we shall even find that these abominable vices prevail more and more as civilisation advances. Indeed, it is in backward nations who are not yet possessed by the demon of riches that dishonesty and deception are less in evidence. The second commandment is "Thou shalt not raise a false report; put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witnessE. We need only go through the newspapers, the political correspondence, the official records, and the legal decisions of the Christian countries to know what a divergence there is

between theory and practice in respect of this commandment. The third commandment is "Thou shalt take no gift; for the gift blindeth the wise". This too is rarely met with in actual practice. Ninety-nine people out of every hundred take gifts and become "blind" in consequence. Did not the saying "the golden key can open any lock" have its origin in the Christian countries in the first instance? "Though shalt not bear false witness against they neighbour" is the fourth commandment. We are surprised at the qualification "against they neighbour". We thing it is not right to bear false witness against any person whatever. Neither tale-bearing nor bearing false witness can be said to be rare in Christian countries. The fifty commandment is "Thou shalt not use false weights". Are not the frauds and inequities committed in the government of nations the same thing as using false weights in trade? To punish the poor ruthlessly for petty offences and to reduce them to beggary by imposing heavy penalties--is this short of swindling?

The paper then proceeds to enumerate some of the minor commandments and says that none of them are followed by the Christian peopls in actual practice.

45. With reference to Lord Crewe's pronouncement that India can never hope to get even the colonial form of self-government,

Swaraj.

the Sasilekha, of the 2nd July, says that 70 per cent. of the Indians are illiterate. Although the people are broadly divided into four castes, each caste is divided into many hundreds of sub-castes so that the members of different sects hate one another on account of social differences and try to bring about each other's ruin. If India should ever hope to get the form of self-government obtaining in the colonies, the people should first of all see that they are all educated and are well-off and wise. There must be an end of all hatred due to differences of race and creed. The people should

love one another as brothers and feel that they all belong to one nation. Till then the Indians, says the paper, cannot expect to get the colonial form of self-government. Religious and racial differences, as well as ignorance, have taken a firm root in India and the paper does not believe that for another three hundred years to come India will be free from them. But by the grace of God these differences may disappear sooner. Lord Crewe, says the paper, is not Brahma (one of the Hindu Trinity). His utterances are not bound, it says, to go uncontradicted for ever. But the people should not hope for impossibilities but should qualify themselves for the things they aspire to by education and social reform. They should learn to love one another as brothers and develop their national spirit. Colonial Government, says the paper, will follow as a matter of course and none can stop it.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 13TH JULY 1912.

No. 29 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

The Kurnool assault case.

4. In an article under the heading "a lenient punishment and its moral", referring to the proceedings of the District Magistrate, Kurnool, fining Mr. Barlow-Poole, District Forest Officer, Rs.20, and ordering him to pay the cost of process fees for assaulting a ryot recently, the Madras Standard, of the 8th July, says:--"Mr. Barlow-Poole admitted the assault, but not to the extent alleged by the prosecution.........The provocation, if any, seems to have been very slight and cannot justify an assault of such magnitude. Mr. Barlow-Poole is a responsible officer, the head of a department. He had allowed himself to lose his temper and cut such a sorry figure on the public road. These facts ought to have weighed with the Magistrate in fixing the amount of fine. The Magistrate, on the other hand, is said to have expressed the opinion that there was exaggeration in the version put forward by the complainant, although this opinion is not supported by evidence, and the plea of provocation set up by the accused seems to have been given the greatest consideration. Provocation, forsooth--a slight damage to a bicycle owing to wrong driving and the inmate of the cart to be assaulted for it! The District Magistrate does not seem to have taken a serious view of the offence and his attitude was directed towards minimising its gravity. Twenty rupees for a grievous assault on a poor ryot by a high-placed responsible officer! That is cheap for

an explosion of uncontrollable temper and an unbecoming display of it. The moral of this unfortunate incident will sink deep into the minds of the people and leave an undesirable impression that a European officer gets off cheap, where an Indian would have had to pay dearly. They would naturally put the question to themselves, 'what would have been the fate of the ryot if he had assaulted Mr. Barlow-Poole?' The Government of Madras, we have no doubt, will take departmental notice of Mr. Barlow-Poole's conduct. Nothing but a severe departmental punishment will meet the ends of justice and remove the present public impression".

The Mymensing appeal case.

5. The Indian Patriot, of the 8th July, writes:--"The judgment of the Privy Council in the appeal of Mr. Clarke, District Magistrate of Mymensing, has been widely commented upon even before the receipt of the judgment or a fair summary of it. From the report published it is clear that the Privy Council based their decision on the ground that Mr. Clarke, in directing a general search of the plaintiff's cutcherry in view of an inquiry under the Criminal Procedure Code, was acting in the discharge of his judicial functions.........With all deference to the Privy Council, we prefer to accept as ~~thxxxxgbx~~ thoroughly sound the view, which the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Harrington took, that under section 102 the Magistrate can only act where he is competent to isssue a search warrant, that search warrant can be issued only by the Court, that in this case the Magistrate was not acting as a Court, and all that section 105 says is that instead of the Court issuing a wanrant the Magistrate may direct a search to be made in his presence------- According to the Privy Council any Magistrate, as soon as he hears something and believes something, can forthwith order a search of any house, cutcherry, or palace; and he will be acting judicially. Such a view of the law will

become intolerable if it is largely followed in this country. The Privy Council has before now made grave mistakes in regard to the interpretation of Hindu and Muhammadan law. The decision it has now passed, viz., that 'Court' and 'Magistrate' are convertible terms, seems to constitute a matter of no less magnitude".

The Punjab dog-shooting case.

6. Referring to this case, the Madras Standard, of the 9th July, observes:- "The verdict of the jury in Private Peskett's Case, resulting in his acquittal, is likely to leave the unfortunate impression that between a European accused and an Indian victim the administration of justice is defective.........A European jury, while judging the act of the accused from a European standpoint, is unable to understand the Indian standpoint. The discrepancies in the version of the prosecution witnesses, which always play a great part in such trials, cannot be well estimated, with regard to their probative force. Meanwhile, these unfortunate occurrences and acquittals leave a sense of wrong, a diffidence in the administration of justice as between a European and an Indian, which cannot be sufficiently deplored. Is it not possible to devise a means by which a European accused might be judged by his own countrymen while the Indian standpoint on the other side is sufficiently made clear by other persons, besides the Judge and the Public Prosecutor?".

Compensation to Mr. Clarke, I.C.S.

7.. The Indian Patriot, of the 10th July, has the following:- "After the announcement made by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, it seems to be generally taken for granted that Mr. Clarke will be given a compensation for the suit against him. But the Government of India cannot grant a compensation without deciding the basis of it. The chief basis for compensation is that the Privy Council has reversed the decision of the High Court. Directly or

indirectly a number of Judges, we believe five, took the view that Mr. Clarke had committed an actionable wrong, and it is their decision that has been reversed. His costs have been defrayed by Government, and compensation can therefore be only for the wrong done to him by the High Court.........The most that Government may be justified in doing will be to defray all the costs of the suit. Compensation against a decision of the High Court will be an indefensible concession, and the Government cannot be indifferent to the consequences of it. They will do well to examine the whole case with the Privy Council judgment, and satisfy themselves whether there are grounds for the suggestion that a compensation alone will do justice to the injured District Magistrate, and if they grant a compensation, how it will be viewed as regards the High Court. The India Office seems to have shown an undue haste in the matter. But it is to be hoped that the Government of India will exercise due deliberation".

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Abor expedition.

25. The following appears in the Madras Standard, of the 11th July, under the heading "an inglorious expedition"--"One of the most mischievous results of the constitutional irresponsibility of the Government of India and the Secretary of State is the constant, provocative little wars in which they entangle the country, costing the Indian exchequer a mint of money. Public opinion in England, either inside or outside Parliament, does not rouse itself, except when these wars are so shocking in their character or so unjust, that those who have led the country into these terrible escapades cannot put forth any manner of justification before the civilised world; but the bureaucracy can find some excuse or other when the wars are only 'little expeditions' against people whose conduct has not altogether been without blame. During Lord Curzon's time there was a temporary lull in these

excursions, but some of the expeditions that followed his successors' regime cannot be justified on any ground. The Zekka Khel and Mohamand expeditions were more or less unrighteous, but they were at least protested against by some section of the press in England and in India. We are afraid that the Abor expedition is one of these little wars for which the Government are not without technical excuse, but of moral excuse there is none. It is a provocative war carried on by a powerful Government with all the resources and up-to-date engines of destruction against a few hundred peasants whose weapons consist of arrows and bows. It is not a war to punish aggression or assert any sovereign right which has been infringed. It is a purely personal one, to avenge the murder of two Englishmen who brought about their destruction by their own folly. The orders of the Government against any British officer entering these Abor territories were positive and yet they were ignored and the two Englishmen fell a prey to the savage instincts of a few Abors. Why these officers transgressed the orders of the Government we have not been told, but the spirit of revenge cannot be appeased by the contemplation of the fact that the evil was self-inflicted. The Indian tax-payers had to be mulcted in considerable sums, because two of their officers transgressed their orders and invited knowing death. The aggression is uncalled for and is unsupportable by any canon of moral justice. And yet we know that the expedition has not provoked the indignation which it ought to. There was reason at least for one hope and that is, that the Government having resolved upon an unprofitable war against defenceless peasants, would at least finish it as expeditiously as possible and have their craving for military glory satisfied.... Truly no more inglorious expedition was ever entered upon by the Simla Government and under that epitaph let it lie".

The Lokopakari, of the 8th July, raises its voice against the appointment of Mr. Kuppuswamy Sastriar in supersession of the claims of Mr. R. Krishnamachariar and observes that it is most unfair on the part of the Government to ignore true

merit like this, and allure capable men and then insult them.

(g) Forests.

The questions before the present committee are those relating to cattle-grazing, firewood and leaf-manure. As our district does not contain good pastures, it is essential that grass for cattle should be provided out of reserved forests. The hardships which the poor have to undergo in respect of firewood are a matter of common knowledge. And as for green manure, that too should be supplied out of the reserved forests, as it is not available anywhere else; for, the new warg lands contain no kumkis, and the kumkis in the old warg lands are steadily on the decrease, so that there is no land in which to collect leaf-manure. Only, care should be taken than people do not carry away excessive quantities of the produce from the forests. As nobody is more competent to look after this duty than the villagers themselves, we suggest that the Government should appoint a panchayat consisting of the chief men of the village, by way of an experiment at first, and vest in its hands such powers as are needful for the administration of the forests of the village.

(k) General.

An atrocious act of a European at Kurnool.

31. A leader in the Manorama, of the 15th July, under the heading "An atrocious act of a European", gives a description of an incident in which Mr. B.H. Barlow-Poole, the District Forest officer of Kurnool, is alleged to have severely maltreated an old man of some position travelling in a bullock cart, for the simple reason that the driver of the cart could not, owing to the rush of people hastening to the railway station to catch the train, promptly make room for Mr. Poole's cycle to pass. The cartman took to his heels at the sight of the exasperated European, who dragged the old man from the cart and kicked him and beat him so severely that he was left insensible on the road. The Huzur Sarishtadar, who happened to pass by, had him removed to the municipal hospital. The Medical Officer has granted a

medical certificate and a criminal complaint has been filed in the local Magistrate's Court. Although Government have laid down certain instructions for European officials to observe in their dealings with natives, there are still some European officials who ignore them. It is time that they are taught a good lesson. It need not be said that the perpetration of such cruelty by a responsible official reflects great discredit on Government.

The appointment of Indians as heads of scientific departments.

34. The Swadesamitran, of the 8th July, writes:- We understand that Mr. Rangachariar, M.A. L.T., has been appointed to act as a Government Botanist. Though we are not sure about the capability or otherwise of Mr. Rangachariar to fill this post, the fact that he has acted in this capacity twice already makes us believe that he is not quite unfit for it. Then, why should he not be confirmed in this post? There are so many other scientific appointments like that of the Government Botanist. The Archaeological department and the Industrial and Agricultural departments may be quoted as instances. The Engineering, Medical and the Forest departments also require men who have scientific knowledge. It may be said that there is some reason to appoint only Europeans in the last mentioned departments, as the interests of Government are affected thereby. The Government have no direct interest in the Botanical, Archaeological, Industrial and Agricultural departments, and it is more the people than the Government that are interested in the work turned out by these departments. Therefore why should Indians not be appointed in these departments? Lord Curzon once observed that appointments which require a high scientific knowledge should be held only by Europeans. We do not see the rationale of this. Is there any room to think that Indians have no brains, that they cannot acquire scientific knowledge, and that their appointment will cause

loss to Government? Cannot men like Mr. Ramamurti, who recently passed out with honours from the Cambridge University, be trained for these scientific appointments? Lord Curzon appointed a Board consisting of the heads of all scientific departments to advise Government in scientific matters and this Board is still giving its advice to Government now and then. Which Indian will be glad at the fact that there is not one Indian Member on this Board? It is nearly 150 years since the British Government was established in India and about 65 years since the universities were founded. It is therefore not very creditable to the Government to say that there is not a single Indian having the necessary qualifications to be the head of scientific departments and to offer advice to Government. How long are the Indians to be assistants to foreign heads of departments, without being themselves such heads?

Railway extension in Mysore.

38. Referring to the two projected railway lines in Mysore, viz., the Bowringpet-Kolar and the Arsikere-Mysore lines, the Vrittanta Patrika, of the 11th July, observes:-Whether from a fear that railways would not pay, or from the notion that irrigation works are more essential, His Highness' Government have not spent a pie on railways since the construction of the Shimoga branch line. So it is very gratifying to note that after such a long interval they have again taken up the matter.

Of the two projected lines, that between Arsikere and Mysore (via Nanjangud) is by far the more important, and deserves more than a passing notice. It is not only bigger than the Bowringpet-Kolar line, but there is also every likelihood of its proving the fore-runner of even a more important line between Nanjangud and Erode. In the event of

this line being constructed, the trade with Bombay, Poona and the West Coast which has now to pass round through Madras and Bangalore would have a shorter route viâ Mysore, which would consequently grow in wealth and importance. Moreover, it would give a great impetus to agriculture by affording a cheap means of carrying the products of the malnad tracts to British India and thus creating a demand for them. At present the merchants and craftsmen of the southern districts of the State do not find it paying to export their commodities to outside provinces, inasmuch as the railway line terminates at Mysore which is situated, so to speak, in a corner of the province. Bur the construction of the new line will remove this disadvantage and, further, add greatly to the importance of the City of Mysore.

The work of the Forest Committee.

41. The Lokopakari, of the 8th July, says:--This committee has begun its sittings in Nellore and the first witness examined by it, a Deputy Collector, stated that the Forest officials were unjustly impounding cattle and that they were forcing the ryots to pay certain sums annually as bribes, on failure to pay which the ryots were put to serious hardships. The same tale has been corroborated by another witness who said that the scale of bribe fixed by the Forest guards was one anna per head of cattle and that even if one cattle strayed into the forest, all the cattle owned by the ryot concerned were being impounded. Thus it is clear that the ryots are being treated very badly by the Forest guards and watchmen, and this is the reason why the people are dissatisfied with the work of the Forest department. No attempt is made by the superior officers in the department to put an end to the vagaries of their subordinates. The ryots, too, do not bring the malpractices of the Forest guards and watchmen to the notice of the of the officers, for fear that the former may begin to tease them more. There are enough, of trees in reserved forests,

which will be useful for agricultural purposes; but the ryots are not able to have them when required. Even the scale of grazing fees levied is rather too high. It is very necessary that at least cattle used for agriculture should be allowed to graze in forests free of charge. It is also necessary that leaves, fuel and trees required by agriculturists should be made available to them at reduced prices. We hope the committee now conducting the enquiry will go deep into these things and make proper recommendations to the Government.

Lord Crewe's pronouncement.

44. In a leading article, the Desamata, of the 3rd July, comments on the pronouncement of Lord Crewe that India can never hope to get self-government on colonial lines, and asks if Indians ever wanted such Government all at once. They simply wanted more and more rights being conferred on them gradually and the responsibility of administering the country being entrusted to them only by degrees. The prayed that the British would grant them self-government in the form in which it obtains in the colonies under the suzerainty of the British Soverign and the control of the Governor-General. The paper is at a loss to know how this aspiration of the Indians appeared to the Secretary of State to savour of revolution. Lord Crewe may not do us good in his regime. But has he prophetic vision, asks the paper, to fore-tell that the Indians will never have self-government at all? It is quite possible, it says, that England may produce great men who may take compassion on the Indians and feel it an honour to themselves and their country to train the people in self-government and grant them swaraj. Or the time may come when the Indians themselves may, by the kindness of the British, qualify themselves by education and by the giving up of all internal dissensions, and ask for self-government under the protection of the British and for an opportunity to serve the British Empire. Lord Morly has declared the partition of

Bengal a settled fact, but it has been undone in six-years. Lord Crewe's utterances, says the paper, are not harsher than those of Lord Morley. It says that whatever may be Lord Crewe's views, they will not affect us, for, according to the opinion of politicians, the administration of a country varies according to the ability or disability of the people. It concludes by saying that however discouraging may be the words of Lord Crewe, if the Indians do not give up their sense of justice, truth and self-respect, but work constitutionally for the goal they aspire to, with tact, wisdom and harmony, they will surely attain it as the other nations have done.

Commenting on the same subject, the Andhraprakasika of the 6th July, says that the Indians were hopeful of attaining self-government at some distant time. The despatch of the Government of India strengthened the hope. But Lord Crewe has declared that it is impossible that the British would ever give Indians self-government on colonial lines. But hope is eternal, says the paper. It is natural that the conditions of a country change almost every moment. Is it not a fact, asks the paper, that the people now enjoy a greater number of rights and privileges than what ~~xhy~~ they did before the creation of the great Indian National Congress. The Congress is still doing its work. It is yet to secure further privileges for the Indians. Administration, like everything else, is subject to the ever-changing influences of time. The partition of Bengal which was recently annulled is, says the paper, an instance in point. In conclusion, it exhorts the people not to give up their hope but to use the privileges that they now possess in the right direction, to discharge their duties properly, to make known by their conduct that they are ~~qualified by education and otherwise to administer their own country.~~ competent to have greater powers conferred on them and to prove that they are qualified by education and otherwise to administer their own country. As what the people want is self-government under the suzerainty of the British Sovereign, and as the British Government never ~~fesetate tp gove~~ hesitate to give what the people are qualified

to have, the paper assures that the Indians cannot but have the self-government they pray for, in the ordinary course of things.

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